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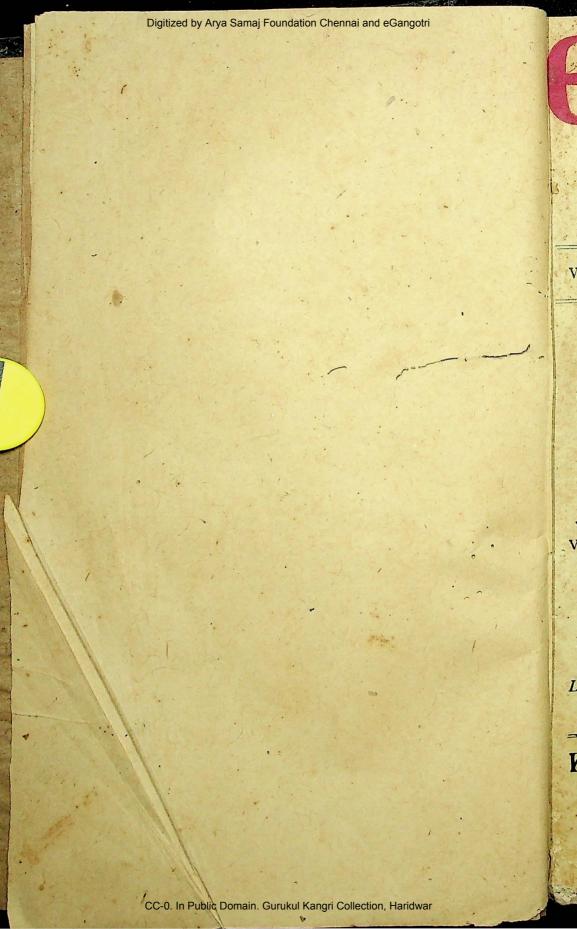
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And East and West, without a breath, Mixt their dim lights, like Life and Death, To broaden into boundless day.



-TENNYSON

Vol. III. No. 29. MARCH, 1904.

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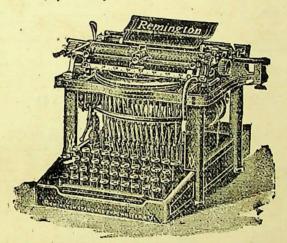
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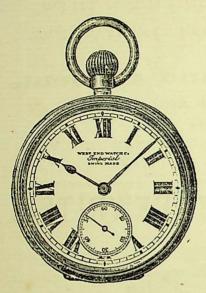
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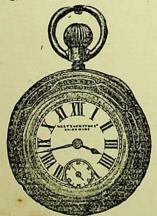
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MARCH, 1904.

No. 29.

WILLIAM ERNEST HENLEY.

It is difficult for me to think of Henley as dead—all about him was so vivid and living, my memory of him is still so fresh; he rises up before me so clearly whenever I read a line of his poetry. How this will be in the future I cannot say. It is a private matter wherewith I ought not to trouble the reader. My purpose here is to set down a few memories and recollections of him.

Although latterly his name was well known throughout England. he was never a popular writer or perhaps a very popular man. Only those in India who kept themselves well abreast of our literature can have learned anything about him. It will be a real service if this article serves as an introduction to the man and his work. I begin with a biographical note. He was born in Gloucester a little over fifty years ago. He made his living by writing from early years. It was not always a prosperous living, and at first he had some desperate bouts with fortune. He was much afflicted with ill-health. A disease of the hip-joint took him to Edinburgh infirmary; there he made the acquaintance of R. L. Stevenson, and in Edinburgh he lived and worked for some time after his recovery. Then he came to London to edit, first, the journal called "London," then the "Magazine of Art"; he returned to Edinburgh to edit the "Scots Observer," and when that became the "National Observer" he came back with it to London. He afterwards edited the "New Review," and he did much useful work in preparing editions of classic poets, novelists, and essayists. Most famous was his edition of Burns. In July, 1903, he died at Woking. He worked hard, he wrote much all his adult life, but no doubt he will be, as he would himself desire to be, remembered by his poems. As a poet I first consider him.

My own view, one not shared by critics much more eminent than myself, is that his best work is contained in the "Book of Verses" first

published in 1888, and nearly all of it written some ten years earlier. before he was thirty. I remember visiting him in Chiswick one night in the summer of 1887, when he told me that a London publisher had asked him to collect and publish his poems. At that time the "Book of Verses" existed in old numbers of magazines. Many of the poems were in old French ballad forms. The late Mr. Gleeson White. when making a collection of examples of those forms, had been much impressed by a number of them which had appeared in "London." He discovered that they were all done by one man and that man was Henley. It was through their appearance in this collection that Mr. Nutt, the publisher referred to, was induced to bring out the "Book of Verses." It was jocularly said that Mr. Gleeson White had discovered Henley. True, he afterwards became so widely known that his early work must have reappeared sooner or later. It was, however, a portentous fact that these remarkable poems had been written, published, and practically forgotten before 1888. Only about a fourth part of the "Book of Verses" consists of "Ballads," another fourth are the "Hospital Rhymes," and about a half is made up of the "Echoes of Life and Death." All are characterised by an extraordinary felicity of phrase, clear and vivid description, tender feeling and expression, clarity and melody. Nowhere shall you find more entrancing verse. In the "Hospital Rhymes" Henley is realist, but not in the much abused sense of that word. We all know what Zola would have made of hospital life, how certain disagreeable features of the place would have appeared to him its whole existence. It is far otherwise here. Not that you have a rosewater picture; all the facts are fairly faced, but everything is told with humour, delicacy and decency, and this picture is infinitely truer than the other. It is charming and yet it is the very stuff of the hospital. In a series of marvellous portraits, nurses, surgeons, patients, visitors, all pass actual and living before you, and that is why I call Henley a realist. those sketches the most famous is well named "Apparition." It is the portrait of Robert Lewis Stevenson, who visited him there as des cribed in the well-known lines dated some thirteen or fourteen year later, and inscribed to Charles Baxter:

Do you remember
That afternoon—that Sunday afternoon!—
When, as the kirks were ringing in

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And the gray city teemed
With Sabbath feelings and aspects,
Lewis—our Lewis then,
Now the whole world's !—and you,
Young, yet in shape most like an elder, came,
Laden with Balzacs
(Big, yellow books, quite impudently French),
The first of many times,
To that transformed back-kitchen where I lay
So long, so many centuries—
Or years, is it?—ago.

All those poems are unrhymed, yet you never for a moment forget that you are reading poetry. Some of the "Echoes" have become very famous; they are the old poetic themes, the rapture of life and love, the solemnity of the little struggle that is rounded with a sleep, the joy of romance, the delight of travel; to me the crown of all is the one beginning, "On the way to Kew"; but even the minor are always delightful and inspiring. For felicity of phrase and command of words, I do not know where to match "Made in the hot weather." The delightful feeling of coolness and freshness conquering the dusty, intolerable heat is a perfect example of Henley's realistic touch. Another striking instance of power over words is a translation into thieves' jargon of "Villon's straight tip to all cross cases," as he named it, but this is not included in the "Book of Verses" and was never republished by the author. Henley wrote a great many remarkable poems after the "Book of Verses." Some, I think, place his "London Voluntaries" in the first rank of his achievement: his "London Types" are excellent; the "Song of the Sword" is a wonderful production; but to me he never does more than recapture for a brief instant the glory and rapture of his early prime. He himself preferred those later poems but his power over words sometimes in its turn mastered him. He had developed that power by incessantly making experiments; he sought after new effects and not always happily; not always did he preserve the perfect balance between the thought and its expression which distinguished his former work. He did not pretend to be an original or daring thinker -his glory was to touch with matchless melody the old familiar eternal themes to fresh issues. And there is the question of temperament 220

He was the Foet of Romance, and Courage, and Daring and Hopein a word the Poet of Youth. The current of life must run hot and strong in his veins. The vistas of the unknown future must spread before him, dim, enchanting, inviting, that he might be at his best. He felt keenly what he put into verse. It was natural to him to look joyously forward rather than sadly, or, if you will, contentedly back. And thus, though I think very highly of much that he did in later years, and no doubt in many ways his intellect matured and strengthened, yet necessarily altered conditions had their effect. In the "Book of Verses," he said his say as he was never to say it again, and in that Book there is the very finest of the wheat. Poems incapable of suffering at any time a second oblivion are there; some six or twelve are permanent additions to English literature, as sure of remembrance

as anything in Tennyson or Browning.

From first to last Henley wrote a great deal of prose; his books have collected only a small portion of this. It was mainly critical, and a word must be given to him as a critic. Here again, with a very important exception, I prefer his early work. The first volume of "Views and Reviews" was published in 1890; it is described by him as less a book than a mosaic of scraps and shreds recovered from the shot rubbish of some fourteen years of journalism. It really contains the most delightful appreciations of great poets and novelists. As by intuition Henley sees the right thing and says it straight out with justness of expression. He had read widely, his taste is always good, he praises in no stinted measure. In the case of Dumas and Dickens I like to think that he began the counter-current succeeding the reaction which had set in against those writers. His views on literature were always liberal and sincere, but I think his later style had a tendency to become forced and laboured, yet his best piece of prose criticism was one of his latest and one of his longest. I refer to the famous essay on Burns. It is admirably done; its grasp of a remarkable and complex character is complete and accurate. There is a lack of generous sympathy. I fancy he is now and again a trifle hard on poor Robin. As a Scotsman, however, I find some difficulty in arguing this point. A Scotsman feels towards Burns as towards a near and dear relative, or much beloved sympathetic friend. This feeling, surely not discreditable in itself, has moved many weaker brethren to unreasoning idolatry. Thus the "common Burnsite," as Henley called

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him, was produced, and the common Burnsite had really too much influence on Henley. His wrath at that foolish and unreasonable person affected his critical judgment, and it even made him, without any evidence whatever, attack the character of poor Highland Mary, "the bare-legged Beatrice" as he was fond of calling her. Yet, when all is said and done, we have in this essay the sanest and justest criticism of Burns in existence.

The portrait of Robert Lewis Stevenson, contained in the review of the life, opens to an outsider like myself (I only once saw and never spoke to R. L. S.) difficult and perplexing questions. The official life of Stevenson gave, in Henley's opinion, an entirely false view. He felt this very strongly, and when Henley felt a thing he wrote about it just as he felt, and with the most severe disregard for consequences; but having said his say, he still retained, as I can most emphatically vouch, the warmest affection for his old friend.

As an editor, Henley was much before the world, chiefly as a "drynurse of lions," to adapt a familiar schoolboy blunder. There never was an editor more instructive to write for and more interested in the efforts of his contributors, more generous and discriminating in his praise, more ready to receive them as friends and to help and aid them on in every way possible. He got their very best out of the men he gathered round him. He had high ideals, his journal must be well written-polished ad unguem-the six lines given to the review of a school-book were revised and considered as carefully as if they contained a little masterpiece. The whole journal passed under his own hand. He corrected, altered, pruned with the most unsparing vigour. It was only natural that his young men should imitate his more obvious peculiarities, and so it came about that the paper seemed written entirely by himself. Perhaps his corrections were not always right—he himself fairly enough said he did not pretend to be infallible-but on the whole the effect was very striking. These remarks apply most of all to the "Scots," afterwards "National Observer," to which Rudyard Kipling, R. L. Stevenson, and J. M. Barrie and many others contributed some of their very best work. It had many remarkable features: its gallery of modern men contained original and independent portraits of famous contemporaries; ts occasional poetry was whimsical and delightful; its reviews were

brilliant and fearless, they made many a famous author "squirm," as Henley gleefully noted, Financially the journal was a failure; pub. lishers were shy in submitting works to so critical a tribunal and the advertisements lingered. Henley did not trim his sails to catch popular favour; he followed his own course and thought the public should follow him. Before all, it was a journal of good sound literature. and the readers and admirers of such must always be few. A journalist told me that he admired it very much, but it was too good and too clever for a tired man to glance over at the end of a hard day's work. Of course there were other reasons applying to the class and not the individual. Has any sixpenny, non-illustrated, non-society weekly started within the last twenty years been a financial success in England? In the last few years of his life Henley's merits as an editor were universally recognised. Beside the Burns, there was the remarkable fragment of Byron, a Fielding, a Hazlitt, a Shakespeare, and much else; but he always himself referred to his "Scots Observer" days as the crown of his editorial career. This was natural. A weekly journal is almost better than a daily, since it disregards unimportant details, and touches on more serious and permanent subjects, a review of everything interesting for the time-quicquid agunt homines. The articles are shorter than in a monthly magazine, and much more easily grasped. Henley, no doubt, found them much easier to mould to his own purposes.

Had you seen these roads before they were made, You'd a good cause to bless General Wade.

Were it possible to recover the drafts of the original copy of some of his contributors' productions, the contrast were startling. How instructive the study might have been for a new school of journalists! And yet it required another Henley to emendate, and where is another Henley to be found? Of course, his heart was in his work, you cannot get such things done for money. The labour involved was enormous, and the irritation caused excessive. Yet he gave generously; many a borrowed plume was sported by another bird, and that before the very eyes, and with the full consent of the "only begetter." One very remarkable case was the phrase describing the Crockett—Ian-Maclaren form of Scots literature as the "Kail Yard School." This prefaced another man's work, and it was

no blame to the other man that he should get credit for one of Henley's most happy emendations. His efforts in this respect were no doubt audacious. I believe he once cut down a wordy review of some 2,000 words into two lines! He did those things half wrathfully, half gleefully, but altogether thoroughly. I remember once going to Thistle Street, where the old "Scots Observer" had its Edinburgh office. He was hard at work slashing at some lengthy production, which he was drastically reducing to a required shape and form. I quoted the Virgilian line about the priest Laocoon—

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Solennes taurum ingentem mactabat ad aras,

to his huge delight. A joke pointed with a classic quotation, English or foreign, modern or ancient, he ever appreciated. I have noted the occasional poetry in the "Observer," some of it of very high quality. Indeed, it struck me as about the best thing in the paper. Henley would not look at verse unless it was very good in itself, and he further improved it by the change of a word or two, which more than doubled its original value. This always reminded me of the alterations Burns made in some old popular song. No doubt in both cases there was something to go upon, but it was the exquisite skill and setting that gave most value to the stone. A man who ventured to do those things must, besides great ability, have a profound belief in himself. Henley certainly had that. An American publisher once put forth a poem of Tennyson's and Browning's with one of his. I forget subject and object, but it does not matter. I found the booklet lying on his study table and glanced through it-"You are in good company," I said. "They are," he instantly answered. I must say I think he was right. He had his limitations, like other men. On the dark problems of life he did not reflect in the way of thinking out a scheme, a plan or their negation. He was not at all interested in science. Of Darwin or Herbert Spencer. I do not think he ever read a line. After all, why should he? It was not his metier. I think, however, this partly accounted for his self-confidence. He was not perplexed, disheartened, confused, by any half or uncertain knowledge of various subjects. He knew a very great deal and all very thoroughly. One or two things in literature left him Thomas à Kempis was a work he frankly said he could not appreciate. I told him that I thought the omission of one remarkable poem from his collection of English Lyrics was inexplicable. The collection is at once large and catholic, yet the poem of Henry Vaughan, the Silurist, beginning "They are all gone into the world of light," is not to be found therein. Among the best hundred poems in the English language I should place it high. In no other set of verses in the language is the Spirit World brought more near to more exquisite music; yet Henley quoted other things by the same writer, and left this out. Again, it did not appeal to him.

All that has been said has but little reference to the most attractive feature in Henley's personality. He was a talker of the very first order. He gave his very best ungrudgingly away, and he warmed other people into good talk. As he drew their best from his contributors, so he drew their best from his company. If they afterwards remembered what took place they must have been astonished at their own brilliance. And to the youngest and most bashfuland just because he was so-he was most kind, and patient and considerate, would listen with the deepest attention, and suggest and prompt, till the half-formed thought flowered with unexpected perfection. On Saturday evenings at his house, a select band of friends, whereof he was undisputed chief, discussed everything; and every view was permitted, though of course it must defend itself, for there was a great deal of sharp and glittering swordplay. brilliant, delightful, informative. It would go on for hours and you never wearied--nay, I think you always wanted more. There was no malice about Henley; he gave and received strokes, but it was always in the way of fair fighting.

Henley had much joy and much sorrow in his life, certainly more of both than the ordinary human being. He was sustained throughout by the devoted companionship of his wife. The great sorrow of their joint lives was the loss at a very early age of their only child, who gave promise of singular gifts, destined never to have their development in this world. "And so that savage has gone," I am told someone said on the news of Henley's death. There was something simple, elemental, noble, heroic about him, which you may call savage—if you choose. I am glad to think that the joy of his life was greater than its sorrow, and that any one might well envy his career. Nor was he unhappy in his death. He was

able to work to the very end, and his mind was keen and alert to the last. An extended span must have meant physical suffering of a cruel kind, and I think he would have preferred that matters should end as they did. But these things become too much for me as I write, and I will say no more.

FRANCIS WATT.

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AN ARANYAKA FROM DURVASASHRAM.

I.

I BEGIN my "torest meditations" from Dumas—Durvasashram—at the mouth of the Tapti, with adoration to Para Brahma. I believe in His existence. I postulate it rather than try to prove it.

I believe Him to be unknown and unknowable in His absolute or unmanifested condition in my present capacity of perception through the faculties I possess in their present stage of evolution.

I believe in God just as I believe in electricity and magnetism, which become knowable and known to me purely and merely by their manifestation, and from the point when they become manifest. In themselves they are invisible to me; their manifestation alone is seen. Scientists may know more of them, perhaps see more of them, as vibrations of ether, &c. So more evolved human beings may know or see more of God. To me He is unknown in the sense that electricity and magnetism are, in whose existence nevertheless, I have a well-founded and well-reasoned belief. Well-grounded inference is as good evidence as a well-founded observation in nature.

I believe the universe to be a manifestation of God. Human knowledge begins from the point of His manifestation. The highest Hindu philosophy, Badarayan Sutras, as interpreted by Shankaracharya, sums up all the definitions, or descriptions, or rather human attempts at definition and description, of Para Brahma, by neti neti—negation. The process of attempting to give a definition or description of Para Brahma, to my mind, in volves contradictory or unthinkable terms and ideas. "That which one sees not with the eye, that by which the eye sees." "That which one hears not with the ear, that by which the ear hears "That which breathes not with the breath, that by which the

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breath is breathed." "This same Imperishable is that which sees unseen, hears unheard, thinks unthought, and knows unknown." These and other aphorisms which are to be found in the Upanishads, are interpretations and illustrations of the Mahavakya, "Tat twam asi," That art thou. The great idea is that the universal soul, beyond the Brahman, when known, is identical with the Jivatman, individual soul, which has gone through the incarnation series and has reached the stage of knowledge of its individual identity with Para Brahman, and which hasknown and realised the One without a second. The mystic or mysterious process and negative result are the logical outcome of the constitution of man. To me-such as I am, by my antecedents, my capacities, faculties, education, and surroundingsto me neither the result neti, nor the mystic philosophy, is in the least surprising, for the fact, as I take it to be, is that Para Brahma is unknown to me. Every attempt to know It lands me in a region of mysticism.

Hindu philosophy, as interpreted by Shankara, teaches that the Para Brahma took upon Itself a fictitious limitation, in the shape of Maya, in order that the universe might be. A maker of the universe is supposed and the process of making it is supposed and indicated in Maya. Para Brahma was Nirgun; no qualities known to man could be predicated of It-neti. To face the fact of the universe, Maya became necessary, and Ishwar, the makerfictitious though he be-was found convenient. From the standpoint of Neti and Para Brahma, this was, of course, a descent, and Maya, though given co-eval eternity with Him, was described as Avidya, that is to say, a limitation. Maya, Avidya, and other names and terms descriptive of this second idea are all interpreted to mean not absolute unreality or a mere nothing. Maya is defined in the Upanishads as "neither entity, nor non-entity; nor both in one; inexplicable by entity, and by non-entity; fictitious, and without beginning." It is interpreted in the following way: "It is an illusion projected by illusion, an unreal unreality, the three primitive elements of pleasure-pain-Moha, in co-equality, overspreading the one and only Para Brahma from eternity. It is the sum of the illusions of all individual souls, as a forest is an aggregate of trees. It is the power, cognitive and active, of Ishwar, the arch creator of the universe, who is the first emanation of Para Brahma. It is his

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power of illusory creation, the power out of which proceed at migrating souls and all that they experience in their migrations. Brahman is changeless, but in union with Maya, becomes fictitiously the basis of this baseless world, and underlies the world fiction out of which the ever-changing figment-worlds proceed in Yug after Yug. Maya thus pre-exists with Para Brahma, but Para Brahma is not thereby any the less the one and only Being, in the same manner as the possibility of the future tree pre-exists within seed of the tree without a seed becoming any the less the one and only seed."

I believe I have given in the language used above, which is not my own, a correct interpretation of Shankara's definition of Maya

as given in the Upanishads.

Maya, in the sense of the transitory, I can well understand; transitory in the sense of ever-changing I can well understand. Real and unreal in a relative sense I am able to understand as the polarities of pleasure and pain, health and illness, sweet and bitter, hot and cold, truth and falsehood, good and bad. Each by itself, abolutely and independently of the other, I do not comprehend. I will illus trate my meaning by taking the instance of another द्वंद, that of the directions, East and West, North and South. England is to the West of India; and India is to the East of England. It is easy for a child to understand this relative position, between the two countries. Then take America in relation to Asia. from any one place, the conventional names of the four directions But this idea give us a correct enough idea of the relative position. involves another, that the sun rises first in Asia, and proceeds to America later, which is, therefore, to the west of it. This supposition may be baseless, but in the absence of it, the directions may be reversed. The idea of health without that of illness is futile, the idea of pleasure without pain is unintelligible: there is no possible appreciation of sweetness without a pre-existing one of bitterness; heat cannot be perceived if cold has never been felt; truth will not be applauded if falsehood be not condemned; and there will be no room for the discrimination of good without the existence of evil; Each of the nor can there be a day without a corresponding night. duals without the other is unreal, non-existent; with the other it is real in the best sense in which reality is comprehensible by the

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human mind. What is beyond comprehension may well be left to take care of itself so far as ordinary humanity is concerned; and I am concerned with humanity and the universe of which it is an integral part. Reason is the distinctive mark which, speaking roughly, specialises man, and distinguishes him from the lower animals and the rest of this world. Of other worlds, forming undoubtedly a part of the universe, I will not venture to speak. Paths of knowledge are two—Deductive and Inductive, or to use plainer language, Thought and Experience or Observation. In the one case we go from the general to the particular; in the other we reverse the process. Each has its excellencies and defects, but both are welcome to me, as each of them has achieved excellent results. Mere authority, sacred or scientific, I respect and act on in the affairs of life. But all have to give way to reason, which is predominant, when a conflict arises.

The difficulty felt by me in conceiving the identity of Para Brahma with the universe was, of course, felt long, long ago by the Hindu philosophers themselves. It was felt pre-eminently by Kapila in his Sankhya, the so-called atheistic philosophy, because it does not go behind the manifested universe, and manifestation, even according to Shankar, is dual, that is assumed, albeit fictitiously, by the Para Brahman in order that the universe might be, and real only when, by process of evolution, identity is finally recognised. Purusha, Spirit, is regarded as existing separately but co-eternally with Prakriti, Matter. The idea is illustrated by a simile as favourite as those of the mirage and sand, rope and snake, clay and pot, gold and a gold ornament, in the case of the pure Advaitism of Shankara. The Purusha is said to be like a lame man with effective eyes, carried on the shoulders of a blind man with effective legs: the one without the other is helpless: the two together are fit for action.

The two Systems of Philosophy, that of Shankara and Kapila, are by the tolerant Hindus and discriminating critics regarded not as antagonistic or destructive of each other, but as complimentary and supplementary and illustrative of each other. Be it so, my mind is open; and I am agreeable that it shall be so; my mind is, in fact, so open as to regard Ernst Heckel's Pure Monism with equal respect and impartiality. I will therefore allude to it here in his own words. "Pure monism is identical neither with the theoretical materialism

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that derives the existence of spirit, and dissolves the world into heap of atoms, nor with the theoretical spiritualism which rejects the notion of matter, and considers the world to be a specially arranged group of energies, or immaterial natural forces." Heckel holds disagreeing with this and partly agreeing and disagreeing with Shankara and Kapila, "that matter cannot exist and be operative without spirit, nor spirit without matter." He agrees entirely with the pure unequivocal monism of Spinoza, viz., "Matter, or infinitely extended substance, and spirit, energy, or sensitive thinking substance are the two fundamental attributes, or principal properties, of the all-embracing divine substance of the world, the universal substance

These different results are, in my opinion, after such though as I have been able to bestow upon their different modes of looking different aspects of the same thing. Theosophists, whose vision extended by occult science and occult evidence, profess to see more Be it so. My vision is not so extended, and my observations apply to those only whose vision is equally limited with mine. I gos far only as to the existence of the invisible, but my knowledge limited to some of the manifestations and laws of the manifestal world. And no more. And, moreover, I consider this as sufficient for all the purposes of my present state of evolution, for the consti tution of man, as I conceive it to be. I have no sort of quarrel with the theosophists or reasoners and thinkers whose mental vision; more extended and more subtle. But I venture to think that m view will be agreeable to a considerable body of thinkers and b perhaps accepted by them. I will not venture to disturb the conclu sions of those to whom emotion and revelation are accepted method of receiving knowledge. They profess to see from a different and higher point of view, and I am unable to approach them.

From his point of view Heckel regards the Ego, the 'I,'the individual consciousness, as a material development, and not immortal. I am unable to agree with him. I do not see how the follows. Scientists say ether exists. Electricity exists, but is perceived in its manifestation. According to Heckel matter and energy exists co-eternally in combination; why may not then the Ego, the 'I,'the also deemed as immortal and ever existing, but manifested in matter only? Physical death is a passage for life in an altered condition. There is perpetual change in the universe both of spirit and matter



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but no disappearance or annihilation of either. All manifestation is Maya, transitory, perpetual change of spirit and matter, but equally real in the ordinary sense of the word.

I therefore look upon the universe and the world as real in the ordinary sense of the word. That corresponds most with the constitution of my being. That induces me to look upon the relations and affairs of every-day life with a consistency which is otherwise wanting, and which enables me to love my God with all the capabilities of my nature. Religion is the means or process by which that love is shown or manifested. It follows, therefore, that religion may vary according to one's capacities, including in this term his powers of understanding as well as his opportunities of observation and gaining spiritual and material experience.

Not to admit this is to deny one's self; to stultify human nature, and disregard the lessons of history. To admit it is to explain and justify the existence of the numerous religions which we know to have existed from time immemorial up to the present moment; and to explain and justify the innumerable phases of each subdivisional religion or faith which puts the zest of life and living in every man, be he high or low, civilised or savage, Christian or Mahomedan, Buddhist or Hindu, Zoroastrian or Confucian, Presbyterian or Episcopalian, High Churchman or Low Churchman, Vaishnava or Shaiva; or be he one who, disregarding all religions, faiths and creeds, all doctrines and dogmas, pins his faith on the one fatherhood of God and offers his devotion to Him in his own peculiar fashion, with a complete disregard of authority, revealed or otherwise, and of all ceremonies and rites, and of all modes and attitudes of contemplation and prayer. All strive to attain the Love of God, or unity or companionship with God, or identification with Him. But each can do so according to his own lights, his own opportunities, his own surroundings, his own capacities and capabilities. He cannot do otherwise by the very constitution of his nature. He is not himself if he does otherwise; and he cannot be but what he is himself as the resultant of all that has preceded him, and all that surrounds him, with freedom of will superadded but controlled by a multiplicity of causes.

I am not writing a criticism on religions, or religion in general, or on any religion in particular. I have genuine respect

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for all. I have a great idea of the usefulness of all religions, and of all phases of them: I regard inter-religious differences as non essentials; all religious quarrels as irreligious and studied or gratuitous insults to misunderstood humanity: as blasphemies of the One True God of infinite love in his relations to man, and all-subversive of the doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, the foundation and throne of that infinite love, the highest manifestation of God in the manifested world.

It is extremely creditable both to Shankara and Kapila that they, who had not the knowledge of the evolution of man on earth as we now have after the scientific speculations and investigation of Spencer, Wallace and Darwin, the result of which theosophists do not deny but interpret after their own peculiar fashion, should not ignore the fact of the reality of the universe. The interpretation of Maya, not as nothing, not as illusory in the sense of not existent, but as transient, as ever changing, changing every moment and the explicit recognition of Prakriti by Kapila, save them from the charge of a false dualistic theory which makes matter hard inert, devoid of intrinsic movement, incapable of producing such phenomena as mind and consciousness. Their view, in contradisting tion to the idealistic view of Kant and Berkley, accords perhaps more, if I rightly understand them, with the modern scientific view of Heckel and Buchner. These do not affirm that the ego, consciousness, and thought are material; nor that size, colour, motion, heat, extension, hardness, and softness are in themselves matter; not They are manisfested by that they are merely mental processes. matter in which the spirit eternally rests associated for manifestation These philosophers are not materialists as they do not say life is itself matter; what they do say is that all these things, life itself, are the outcome of processes which have led to the manifestation of matter in its organised condition, that is to say, its appearance to the evolutionised man in a perpetually associated form, a combination, so to speak, of substance and function, or substance and its possibilities This view adds to the reverence attachable and potentialities. to philosophy in its religious aspect.

Maya, thus intepreted, understood and realised, is not only not a veil, nor ignorance, nor a source of ignorance, but a necessary process of evolution, a process essentially one of perpetual change

I do not understand man to have come into the world ready made in body and mind as he is now. He is, according to the latest scientists, a product of evolution. Each part of his body, each faculty of his mind, was slowly and gradually developed. It is the light that made the eye; it is the sound that made the ear; and so on as regards each and every limb and each and every faculty. The illustrations given as to the illusory character of Maya are misunderstood for the most part, and the misunderstanding is the source of mischief when a rope is mistaken for a snake—the snake may be unreal or illusory, but behind it is the real rope; when sand is misseen as water -the water may be illusory, but the sand is a real fact behind, without which reality, the phenomenal mirage would be impossible. Surely, Shankaracharya, who moved his own body out of the narrow. street of Benares to make way for an elephant and betook himself to a neighbouring veranda to avoid it, does not teach that he himself is a myth, that his teaching is a myth. No: he is a sincerely earnest teacher, and his lessons have to be rightly construed in a spirit of true philosophy, not pedantry or hairsplitting.

No doubt the nature of external things cannot be known directly. But without doubt, again, there is a connection between the subject and the object. The object is actual and not phenomenal only, depending wholly and solely, as Kant and Berkley and Schopenhuaer and Wagner would have it, on the subject. Otherwise, the world, and Shankara, with all his philosophy and everything else, would be mythical and uncertain and unknowable and false. such conclusion is forced on us. Let us believe rather in a union of spirit and matter and of an orderly connection between the two 'existing in the universe by the will of God as manifested in laws of. nature. Let us rather believe that all nature is His patent revelation which needs no oral, written or symbolic revelation as that contained in the Vedas, the Bible, the Koran, the Zend Avesta or any professed scripture or revelation. These scriptures have their use, and a very great use. All I say is that for the development and evolution of the world and man, they are not absolutely necessary. They were historically the product of the circumstances of the times when they came into existence, or were said to be revealed to man. These observations are not meant as a criticisim on religion, as said before. They are meant as a help to myself and others situated like

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myself, to discover what is the essential in all religions: in other words, to discover what are the leading principles which underlie all

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religions.

I believe in the existence of the human faculty of Reason, whether it is the product of physical cerebral functions or an unknown combination of those functions with the ego, the 'I'. My personal consciousness makes no difference to me in a practical sense. Let pure idealists and pure materialists fight out the question between them and arrive at any solution suitable to their peculiar modes of thinking. It is enough for me to say I believe in the existence of reason as the premier faculty of my consciousness. In the process of reasoning facts and premises have to be often assumed on the authority of others. This is a necessity of human imperfection, which is an attribute of man's very nature. Reason, therefore, is often a rational trust. Nothing can be reasonably accepted that is inconsistent with the faith that we are living and thinking in a universe in which active reason is supreme in the world, in nature.

Assuming nature to be an actual fact in the plain ordinary sense of the word; assuming knowledge to be possible to man in his stage of evolution as he is to be found ordinarily in the world in his well-known and normal ordinary condition, I believe in the absolute fixity of the laws which govern nature. Everything in nature is orderly and regulated, no confusion, no imperfection, no accident, no deviation, nothing requiring special interposition of the Divine Will which is for once and for once only, if ever, imparted to or sunk in nature's laws. To conceive of God as the Highest Wisdom: to think of Him as Infinite Power; to look upon Him as Perfect Love; to regard Him in fact, as Absolute Perfection; and yet, on the other hand, to require Him to specially interpose and mend one thing and correct another thing and alter a third, treating Him like a watch-maker, is on our part to put a limitation on Him which is not implied in our conception of Him, and which is incompatible with the nature of His being Revelation, the highest kind of authority, when inconsistent with a law of nature, must give way. It follows that anything inferior to it in authority can conceivably have no place in the constitution and economy of nature or the conduct and regulation of human of any other organisation or structure. To Nature's laws there is no her

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repeal or amendment. No efficacious prayer for any of them is piety or righteousness in the best sense of these terms. The most earnest and sincere prayer for any of them may be quieting to the offerer of prayer, but, however healthful to the education and evolution of his mind, cannot be efficacious in any other sense. Prayers to kings or to the human father are legitimate and appropriate. They are the badge of imperfection in the persons by whom they are offered as well as in those to whom they are offered. The man who prays has wants; the other is in ignorance of them. The former discloses his imperfections inasmuch as he cannot supply them himself, and has to ask for extraneous aid. The latter has power to aid but not the knowledge where he can use that power. Each very properly supplies the deficiencies of the other. Prayers in this sense and for such purpose could not be offered to an omniscient, all-wise, all-powerful, all-benevolent God. The existence of pain and evil and injustice are undeniable facts in nature, and must be accepted, but by no means regarded as limitations of God. They may be regarded rather as human imperfections, and may be necessary at a particular stage of human evolution. may not be satisfactorily accounted for or fully explained. If so, they belong to the large majority of things of which man has no knowledge, and which he cannot explain. There are innumerable things of which we do not know even the bare existence; others of which man's knowledge is not able to predicate more than bare existence; others of which knowledge differs in different men; others of which the explanation differs. And this must be so, and must ever remain so as long as man will continue to be more or less imperfect. An honest confession of ignorance in the humble form of "I do not know; I cannot explain," is a valuable piece of knowledge and a correct historical record of fact. An unreasoned or unreasonable assumption of knowledge of every law and fact in nature, or even the presumptuous but current form of this expression of ignorance, "God knows; I do not," though uttered in pure reverence to God, is mischievous, if not unmeaning, and in no way carries humanity to a higher state of knowledge or perfection. The existence of pain and evil, and the modes of accounting for them are matters in which not only the best human minds have considerably differed, but the greatest religions have also most substantially and radically

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differed. To me this is not at all surprising. They are looked at from different points of view; the men looking at them are trained up in different ways; the degrees of training may differ; their environment, their bias, their prejudices—many things may cause them to differ. John Stuart Mill, for whom I entertain the highest respect, considers the necessary pain in the mother at the period of her child's birth (a necessary function in the process in the continuance of the human race for which no blame can be attached to the mother) a limitation of God's infinite power. This he would sacrifice to save God's infinite benevolence. The assumption of original sin is at the root of Christianity and forms the basis of the scheme of salvation through the sacrifice and atonement of Christ. an innumerable series of births and re-incarnations is the basis of Hinduism; and the various systems of philosophy and the multiple phases of Hindu religion have only one aim common to them all, viz., relief from the misery of transmigration. The fact of important irreconcilable differences on the highest, the gravest, and the most important problems concerning the purpose of the universe and of man, the most highly evolved product known to us, is for me a sign of our own radical imperfection, of which the humble, honest, plain "I do not know" is the only rational expression. highest summit of my knowledge in many important matters. There is no logical inconclusiveness or inconsistency involved in my holding that the laws of nature are fixed for ever, and not alterable in the slightest possible degree at any time or for any reason and by any power. I am speaking, of course, with reference to such experience as is open to me myself, directly or indirectly through others whom I have no objection to consider as authorities on grounds which satisfy my reason. I am not alluding to those who stand on a different and subtler plane of being. I do not make this observation in a derisive sense, but in all sincere humility and perfect candour befitting a person who wishes to learn and to know, and not one who thinks he knows and wishes to teach. The belief in the fixity of nature's laws held in common with philosophers and most theologians is a corollary, in my opinion, of the belief in the perfection of God. He has done everything, and He has done everything that He had to do with the most absolute perfection and completeness by and through His laws: the incompleteness and the

AN ARANYAKA FROM DURVASASHRAM

sense of having more and better to do is a part and parcel of my own nature, a part of my own evolution and perhaps necessary for further development and more extensive and correcter knowledge. When I speak of the impropriety and impiety and inefficacy of prayer to avoid a calamity or for the gift of a boon, I do so with a full sense of responsibility; and I leave the fullest scope for the exercise and usefulness of prayer for other purposes equally important and necessary to meet the aspirations of man, which require the fulfilment of Nature's laws, not their deviation or amendment or suspension by a special interposition or miracle or a fresh act of divine grace under an unforeseen set of circumstances. Many evils which from time immemorial were regarded as the act of God have been proved to have been due to human agencies; and as human knowledge advances many more of this kind may be relegated to the act of man. With this wish and in this hope I hold the opinion which I shall express hereafter.

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THE MYSTICISM OF RICHARD WAGNER.

T is only through an attempt to survey the entire mass of what a great artist has produced, that the unifying characteristics of his work become plain to us, and we realise, commensurately with the depth and vigour of his genius, the presence of an organic whole. This does not preclude the processes of growth and development; obviously, it includes them. But the growth is found to have taken place along certain well-defined lines, which, it is further perceived, have been more or less consistently followed from the first: development having been chiefly a matter of expanding selfconsciousness. In youth, the embryo master may make use of forms, and even, to some extent, of ideas employed by his predecessors; but so soon as his vision has cleared to potency, and his ideals, in consequence, have gained full possession of him, inspiration and form, of necessity, fuse into a self-dependent mode of expression—to be, from henceforth, the one mode possible to him. Truth, in Emerson's phrase, can only speak through the soul that has become "opaque," and with the attainment of his majority as artist, this is, approximately, the condition of creative genius. Thus it comes about that we find the perfect fusion of form and spirit, whose witness was the completed trilogy of the "Nibelung Ring," synchronising with the chief psychological epoch in Richard Wagner's life. The "Nibelung" tragedy is the key to the whole evolution of its author; to that of the Wagner of the earlier music dramas, equally with that of the Wagner of "Parsifal": for over the composition of the "Nibelung" tragedy, Wagner discovered a spiritual solution to that inexplicable division of which he had hitherto been conscious in himself, between the intuitive artist and the man of thought, The poem of the "Ring" was printed at the beginning of 1853, and in 1854 Wagner became acquainted with the writings of Schopen hauer, to find in them the reasoned explanations of conclusions at which, over the completion of his great tragedy, he had intuitively arrived. But before going on to a consideration of the leading aspect of Richard Wagner's genius, a word should be said regarding the exact sense in which Wagner himself laid claim to the title of "artist," since its importance to the right understanding of every one of his contingent aims cannot be too strongly urged.

Critical definitions are various enough to supply Wagner with the synonym of "artist," in all the camps: of himself he wrote, "I am an artist": a phrase valuable in every camp, but the precise value of which can only be estimated by reference to its author's convictions regarding the nature and duties of his office. Here is one of them:

One might say that where Religion becomes artificial it is reserved for Art to save the spirit of religion by recognising the figurative value of the mythic symbols which the former would have us believe in their literal sense, and revealing their deep and hidden truth through an ideal presentation.

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and enArt will not be the thing she can and should be, until she is or can be the true conscious image and exponent of the real Man and of Man's genuine, Nature bidden life: until she, therefore, need no longer borrow the conditions of his being from the errors, perversities and unnatural distortions of our modern life.

In these excerpts three points may be noted: (I.) Wagner's regard for the claims of the spirit over those of the letter—a fundamental attribute of the mystic. (II.) His reverence for an office which should inspire the representation of esoteric truths under the symbolic forms of Art. (III.) His dissatisfaction, in view of these ideals, with the existing state of Man, both as an individual, and socially. Roughly speaking, Wagner's whole philosophy of life, as expressed through the medium of his art works, falls into line with these basic convictions. To sum up this working philosophy, we shall find it stand somewhat as follows:—Wagner desired to create, and to inspire the further creation of a national Art. This Art was to reflect the "Need" of those for whom it was created and represented, those people being the "Folk" of a country; the people who work to maintain not themselves alone, but those

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who fail in brotherhood towards them by the exercise of oppression Inspired by a perception of ideal communism, this regenerative An was to express the real Need of the real section—i.e., the genuine toilers-of the race, belonging to whatever class; for, in Wagner's own words:-"As Man stands to Nature, so stands Art to Man Necessity is the generative and formative force of human life ... 0 Need alone is based the very principle of life." Art, therefore, must also spring from "Need"; and its only value for the luxurious must lie in that regenerative quality by which, in the eyes of Wagner, it was sanctified, and dedicated to humanity-a dedication to be shared by the idle rich and the struggling poor, for their mutual benefit. Thus, when Wagner said, "I am an artist," and again, "I give you Life," he stated what was for him deepest truth, in words so simple that they have been frequently misunderstood. necessary to emphasise these foundation facts concerning the great Tone Poet's outlook in order to indicate a point that should never be forgotten, namely, his fundamental affinity with the tragic dramatists of the ancient world. That he was compelled to vindicate and explain his position in prose, over and above its spontaneous declaration in his art works, was the fault of the age to which he came, and a significant one. It is one proof the more, of the diminution and mate rialisation undergone by European Art, that Wagner has been, until within quite recent years, radically misunderstood and perverted by critics who have expressed their admiration for the purely æsthetic qualities of his genius.

The historic interrelation of Art and Life recognised by Wagner, as we have just seen, with so sensitive a penetration, leaves Art deliberately established as the critic of Life, for the same reason that she is her own. For, as Wagner points out, in accordance with his doctrine, "real Art will never live until its embodiment need be subject only to the Laws of Nature, and not to the despotic whims of mode." Man is not free until he has become conscious of his oneness with Nature; nor can Art be free until she need no longer "blush for her affinity with actual Life." Hence, when heroic Art appears at an hour of decadence, its exponent needs must be the man exceptional to that hour—one in whom the reality of being, a distinct from conventional existence, has not been, and cannot be deadened. For such a man to cavil over the essential morality of

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Art, would be clearly beside the mark—a fact to which the great tragic drama of every era has attested. There is no need to point a moral in art such as the world-tragedy of the "Nibelung"; it points its own, within Time, as does Life, by laying results for good or ill at our doors.

And what of the materials found necessary for such vital interpretations of Life? The answer to this question has a profound bearing on the mystical aspect of Wagner's genius, as will at once be seen. There is a Buddhist text which says "he alone is wise who can see things without their individuality." To the effort so to regard the evolutions of human destiny may be traced the choice of subject-matter to which Wagner's faculties, as they matured, were inevitably drawn: for a mind seeking to probe to the essence of Life itself, and declare its hidden unity on broadest lines, could not long remain satisfied with the lesser cycles of individual experience. The personages and setting of a given historical period, arbitrarily adopted, were bound, in company with the adoption of conventional forms in music, to serve by their unavoidable archaism as a check on the natural utterance of that Life's perpetual, elemental ebb and flow.

In a newspaper article written in 1834, at the age of twentyone, Wagner unconsciously foreshadowed all that was to spring thereafter from the seed of this conviction. "We are too intellectual," he wrote, "and much too learned, to create warm human figures." And he goes on to show that what seemed "worshipful" to us, on account of its truth, in Bach and Handel, "must necessarily sound ridiculous with Friedrich Schneiders of our unconvinced himself, he cannot convince his hearers. Rather is it the artist's business "to take the era by the ears, and honestly try to cultivate its modern forms; and he will be master who writes neither Italian nor French-nor even German." With Jean François Millet he might have added, "I shall express the typical with all my might, for in that direction, to my mind, lies the highest truth." For Wagner history was the body, and myth the soul of man's cosmic experience; the Mythos was for him the aggregate of the outer facts accomplished by Man and Nature. He studied history in order that he might know-so far as the shifting landmarks of the "realistic lie" will permit of knowledge-what man had done. But it was by the transmutation of outward actions into their mythic equivalent —in which process the personal became merged and concentrated in the typical and purely essential—that he sought to show what opin man should, and potentially could, do. He tells us-thereby com. pleting the earlier thought already quoted—that he chose mythical in preference to historical subject-matter, because the Mythos deals with "the inner springs of action, those inner soul-motives which are finally and alone to stamp the action as necessary." The growth of the situations evolved from the development of the characters is also made subservient to this law; while the symbology of the figures has an equally scientific basis. These figures are types, not individuals, and each character is a composite presentment of some dominant human quality, or group of qualities-many figures, good bad and indifferent, being used for the evolution of the completed man, Parsifal, who is the ideal expression, under symbolic form, of all qualities in the perfect human being. Each of the incomplete figures leading up to this perfected "Redeemer"-to use Wagner's own term—serves a double purpose. Each is consistent with itself; that is, while symbolising and emphasising specified traits, each is a conceivable human figure, with natural limitations. Wagner's dramatis personæ are related at one and the same time to the particular and to the universal; to the former for purposes of illustration, to the latter for the conveyance of the ideas which underlie them.

And the highest "Need" in life, asked the Bayreuth Master out of the experience of his own life-time, what is it? His answer is simple—simple to naïveté some may think, as they thought the answer found by him to his other self-imposed question, concerning the curse of our civilisation. Money, he found to be the curse of our civilisation; and Love, its highest need. "Love is the mother of Society," he wrote, "and must therefore be its only principle." It was the principle he sought to apply in all directions, in some where, in the world's eyes, he possibly exercised the wisdom rele gated to fools. But in view of this direct recognition, characteristic of a mind where insight and altruism drew parallel conclusions, we come to understand better what Wagner meant by his prophetic longing for the regeneration of the utilitarian man in the artistic man.

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It was his condemnation of the doctrines of utilitarianism which withheld Wagner for a long time from any public expression of opinion on the subject of Vivisection. His consistent adherence to om the one principle of "Mitleid," * the only attitude of mind from which it was possible for him to regard questions relating to the life or comfort of creatures weaker than himself, made him loth to be hich identified with an opposition movement, avowedly prompted by with reasons lower than the one he held. In his "Open Letter to Ernst von Weber"† he brings out with admirable trenchancy the wide moral difference that exists between concessions made to the spirit of philanthropy when gain has become dubious, and the free gift of compassion bestowed without self-interest by the strong on the It was in the East, from whence, by intuition as by learning, Wagner drew the essence of his deepest convictions, that he found the true reason for this opinion. "It dawned on ancient wisdom," he says, in the "Open Letter," "that what breathes in man is the same as in the beast;" and again, when writing of Vegetarianism, the value of which he based on the same belief in the related harmony of all life:

Dogma of pity towards the beasts can but repose on a feeling of guilt: that self-preservation obliges us to destroy beasts, albeit we must recognise them as akin to ourselves, only innocent-should teach us the guilt of our existence; a guilt which nothing save Pity on the vastest scale can mitigate.

In Wagner's presage of ultimate redemption, the power of Divine Pity was to replace the power of egoistic force; its promptings were to dictate the conditions of human association; power was to be reborn in the regions of the soul; blind force was to disappear; and in his essay "Religion and Art," written at the close of his days, in October 1880, we find the regenerative mission of the Poet-Priest again set forth with no uncertain voice:

What their great Tragedians showed the decadent Athenians once in sublimely shaped example, without being able to arrest the frenzied downfall of their nation; what Shakespeare held before a world that vainly thought itself the renaissance of art and man's free intellectits heartless blindness striving for a beauty all unfelt—the wondrous

^{*} Literally " suffering with." Published in the Bayreuther Blatter, October 1879.

mirror of those dramatic improvisations in which he shewed that we Wag its utter emptiness, its violence and horror, without the bitter under says, tion being even heeded in his time: these works of the sufferers start a far now be ever present with us, whilst the deeds of the "makers of histon hum shall in them alone live on. So would the hour of redemption of gains great Cassandra of world-history have sounded, of redemption from expressions. curse of finding no one to believe her prophecies. To us shall all the amount poet sages once have spoken: to us will they speak afresh.

For the voicing of the eternal Need must first be evinced by tive tragedy that man has made of life, before he can fulfil that oth will, strangely mystic utterance of Wagner's to be found in the sat the essay.

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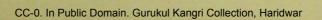
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Those alone can master Nature who understand and put themselves. Neg line with her. . . . Our bungling civilisation . . . with its pure read mechanical and chemical appliances, its sacrifice of the best of hum Wot forces for their installation, delights in waging almost childish w suffer with the impossible.

Therefore, "the theory of a degeneration of the human m however opposed it seems to that of constant progress, might yet the only one in earnestness to lead us to some hope "-a hope draw as he tells us, in another place,* from the fact that "Error ist mother of knowledge; and the history of the birth of knowledge out of Error is the history of the 'human race from the mythos primal ages down to the present day." For, to return to the pages "Religion and Art," through error comes pain; through pain, those endowed with power of thought-pity, and the consciousness human blindness to the intention of "the one great Will," which not our own till we have knowingly identified ourselves with it,1 the negation of our individual desires. This thought of the necessal Negation of the Will is Schopenhauer's, as Wagner adds; and take "as guide to the inexorable metaphysical problem of the purpose the human race, we shall have to acknowledge," he goes on to st "that what we have termed the decline of the race, as known to by its historic deeds, is really the stern school of suffering which will imposed on its blind self for the sake of gaining sight." idea of negation is Schopenhauer's, but the resultant affirmal



^{*} Art Work of the Future.

Wagner deduced from it, carries him beyond that philosopher. dece says, with what is surely a deeper logic, since it brings in its train a far, but profound hope—"this self-knowledge" (i.e. that the blind human will wars continuously against itself to no avail) "can be of gained at last by Pity born of suffering—which, cancelling the will, expresses the negation of a negative; and that by every rule of logic the amounts to Affirmation." Wagner perceived that the negation of one attribute assumes, of necessity, the presence of another to negaby tive it; and it was to this other attribute in Man, his spiritualised oth will, that he looked for the redemption of the race; "Pity," being the name he gives to the love capable of transcending self-interest.

Step by step. Wagner had intuitively reached the goal of lues. Negation preached by Schopenhauer, not many months before he put read, for the first time, the great pessimist's "World As Will." Wotan, the hero of the "Nibelung's Ring", is the embodiment of the shw suffering human will whose escape from self lay in the negation typified by the "Götterdämmerung."* But, as Mr. Houston Chamberlain remarks, it was impossible for the artist, the creator, to yeti remain with the metaphysician in the grim valley of Negation. The Affirmation of the higher will which Wagner deduced from Schopenhauer, was, for him, an inevitable conclusion; and, closely allied to it is his belief in the need for individual sacrifice on the part of the strong for the weak, on the part of those who see for those who are as yet blind. Our thoughts turn to "Parsifal," the most exalted, as it is the most mystical, embodiment of conscious sacrifice, in the cycle of Wagner's tragedies. As the crowning work of the Bayreuth Master's life, it sets the seal of harmony on all the hich other dramas; even on the great love tragedy of "Tristan und it, Isolde," without which poignant aspect of "the illusion of separatecessal ness," and its destruction, his study of the world-tragedy would have 1 take been incomplete. Let those who question its ultimate connection posel with the organic whole, recall and reconsider Isolde's dying words:

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^{*} The Dusk of the Gods.

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and, side by side with them, ponders the moment of enlightenme which drew the cry from Tristan—"Selbst dann bin ich die welt!" Wagner himself wrote of the death of these immortal lovers as last redemption into that wondrous realm from which we state the strive to enter it by fiercest force—night's wonder world, where—as the story says—" an ivy and a vine spring up lockt embrace o'er Tristan and Isolde's grave."

But the redemption motive of "Parsifal" is the highest, sin the most purely impersonal motive of redemption employed in Wagnerian tragedy. Wotan's motive of sacrifice was also imp sonal, but Wotan, owing to infirmities non-existent in Parsifal, "Pure Fool," touched the limit of his spiritual capacity in conscion negation of the Will to Live. Like the leader of Israel, he was n found worthy to enter the Promised Land, while sighting it for afar. But Parsifal had earned the right to live, rather than to dief humanity, since his suffering had consisted, with dawning enlighte ment, of sympathy divine in its impersonal intensity. From thea unconscious cruelty of his boyhood—the shooting of the swani the first act—is evolved, link by link, the whole of his subseque attitude towards pain. The impulse to selflessness is instruction with him from the moment his insight has been awakened. I sacrifices of the other tragedies are tinged with human weaking or blindness, or influenced by an individual devotion. Sent romantic love and self-immolation for the long-sought peace of t Dutchman; the death of Elizabeth for the salvation of Tannhäuse the mystic value of Elsa's expiatory enlightenment and death, wi the departure of Lohengrin: Wotan's stoic acceptance of his se imposed fate: the noble defiance and splendid self-abnegation Brünnhild--all are, as it were, the prelude to Parsifal's dedication The self-dedication of Parsifal, while the greatest, is also, in a wall the least. Being who he was, he had no other choice to make.

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In the moving wave of the whole world's breath
To drown—to sink—
All senses lost—
Highest bliss!

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perfected humanity, he is crowned king of the Grail, and restorer of the spirit to those who had lapsed into despair. Not without deep intuition did Wagner make him a "pure fool." He is an entirely spiritualised type; the "disease of intellect," as Wagner saw it amongst us moderns, being by design absent in him: and Wagner's emphasis of the omission embodies his belief in the need of soul before intellect as the guide to faith in things unseen. The intuition of Parsifal is undimmed because he himself is untainted.

(To be concluded.)

ELSIE HIGGINBOTHAM.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

A DISTINCTIVE feature in Mr. Chamberlain's character at career is his close touch with the people outside at London. To denizens of the metropolisit is, as in the United State Boston was locally esteemed, the hub of the universe. There at places and people outside, but it is London that rules the Empire Mr. Chamberlain's public life began in Birmingham, where he speedily made his mark, and has left it deeply cut. It happened that his appearance on the parliamentary stage was coincidental with the discovery that London is not everything, nor its population every body. At the General Election of 1874 the provinces, weary of their former idol, Mr. Gladstone, turned and rent him, placing Mr. Disraeli in office by a majority that justified his prescience when to the openly expressed disgust of some of his followers, he twelve months earlier declined to accept it.

Mr. Chamberlain's long association with Birmingham, a placed residence to which at this day he is faithful, makes it something a surprise to be reminded that he was born in London. Camberwell an unfashionable suburb on the southern side of the river, was his birthplace. A few years ago, having the rare luxury of an hour spare, he paid a pilgrimage to the sacred spot, and it is needless to say he did not go in a carriage and four, or even in a barouche ampair. He promised himself a quiet, unrecognised visit. But he face is too familiar for such a project to succeed. The incident go into the papers, and there was much more or less kindly comment.

His early connection with London was publicly avowed on subsequent occasion when he presided at a dinner of the Core wainers' Company. His father had been a member of the same guild. There is, indeed, a story that the imperious ex-Colonia Secretary in his early youth assisted in pushing the paternal book

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and-shoe business. If that be true it may be taken for certain that he advanced it. He was certainly destined for a commercial career, and pursued it with supreme success. When in his eighteenth year. having recently left the University College School, his father put some money into a Birmingham firm of screwmakers, since widely known as Nettlefolds, Joseph was sent down to Birmingham. The business speedily felt the impetus of his energy, enterprise and great capacity. In 1874, being in his thirty-eighth year, the very prime of manhood, he found himself in a position to retire from private business and devote himself to the municipal affairs of Birmingham.

Elected to the Town Council in 1868, he in this year, 1874, became Mayor, was twice re-elected, and if he had pleased, might doubtless have kept the chair en permanence. Taking a keen interest in education, he was elected the first Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Education League, and in 1873 became Chairman of the Birmingham School Board. The vastness of Mr. Chamberlain's achievements on the Imperial stage has obscured the magnitude of the work he accomplished in Birming-If he had never achieved anything outside its boundaries he would have made his name memorable. There is to-day in the centre of Birmingham a broad thoroughfare flanked by prosperous shops. When Mr. Chamberlain took his seat in the Town Council this was a congeries of slums, harmful from a sanitary point of view, and, as affecting the appearance of the town, hideous. Mr. Chamberlain conceived the plan of buying up the property, running a boulevard through it, and meeting the expenditure from enhanced rates. He carried out his plans as, in small things and large, he usually does. The slums were cleared away, fine shops built and readily let on short leases. The day is close at hand when these leases will fall in and the rents will be applied in reduction of rates.

Probably if Mr. Chamberlain's walk in life had been limited to the boundaries of Birmingham, that always enterprising place would by this time have direct access to the sea. Having transformed the slums, settled the water, sewage and drainage questions, the still young Mayor of Birmingham, sighing for fresh worlds to conquer, conceived the idea of cutting a canal connecting Birmingham with the Bristol Channel. But Fate and Fortune beckoned him to stray

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beyond Birmingham. Doubtless he always had his eye on the House of Commons. In 1874, he made a first attempt to enter portals, wrestling with Mr. Roebuck for a seat at Sheffield. He was beaten, but he had a good fight and could afford to wait. He opportunity came two years later, when his friend and colleague educational work, Mr. Dixon, retiring from parliamentary life, Mr. Chamberlain by acclaim took his place.

Already he had become a man talked about outside the Mi At that epoch the Daily News, the recognised organ of Liberal party, was not sufficiently radical to suit the taste of the Mayor of Birmingham. Mr. Chamberlain, through one of the mag zines, sharply lectured the London paper, and though the brillian editor of the day, Mr. Frank Hill, joyfully entered the lists, the provincial Mayor by no means came off second best. Another episod that fastened attention upon him was the visit of the Prince of Walt to Birmingham, an event that took place within the first year of h mayoralty. So extreme was Mr. Chamberlain's radicalism, so outspi ken his opinions about men and systems, that in some quarters the was a disposition to regard him as tainted with republicanism. Ho he would comport himself as host of the Prince of Wales was a matter that piqued public curiosity. He made a great success in a diffied and delicate position. Neither apologising for his political convi tions nor unnecessarily parading them, he acquitted himself wi masterful skill and born tact. The personal intimacy then form with the Prince of Wales has grown closer in the more intimate relations of a Cabinet Minister first with the Heir-Apparent, net with the successor to the Throne.

His maiden speech in the House of Commons was looke forward to with intense interest. He did not hurry to bred the silence of his first sessions, preferring rather to study the ways of the House and make it familiar with his unobtrush presence before rising to address it. It was early in the Session 1877 that he tried his 'prentice hand on work in which he speedly proved himself a master. Among the measures in the Minister programme was a Prisons Bill. The subject was one Mr. Chambe lain's training in municipal affairs made him thoroughly conversation with, and he took part in the debate on the first reading. I chance to be present on the occasion, and turning back to my notes may

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at the time, find the following description of a historic first speech:-"It would be interesting to know exactly what impression Sir Walter Barttelot (a typical Tory of the Disraelian Parliament) formed of Mr. Chamberlain's probable appearance and manner before he had the pleasure of meeting him face to face in the House of Commons. He had evidently evolved some fancy picture, for his surprise to-night at seeing the junior member for Birmingham in a coat and even a waistcoat, and hearing him speak good English in a quiet and undemonstrative manner, was undisguised. It is reported that Sir Walter expected that this fearsome Radical would enter the House making a 'cart-wheel,' like ragged little boys do adown the pavement when a drag or omnibus passes. baronet's acquaintance with the forms of the House convinced him that there would be no use in Mr. Chamberlain's presenting himself in his shirt-sleeves, and with a short clay pipe in his mouth. But on the score of waistcoats there is no Standing Order, and the Radical might, if he pleased, have paid the necessary homage to respectability by buttoning his coat across his chest, while he gratified his natural instincts by dispensing with the superfluity of a waistcoat.

"When, therefore, there uprose, from a bench below the gangway opposite, a slightly made, youthful, almost boyish-looking person, with a black coat fearlessly unbuttoned to display the waistcoat and disclose the shirt-collar and necktie, Sir Walter began to stare, and cast side-glances at that other great legislator, Colonel Corbett, in startled endeavour to 'know what he thought of this?' Moreover, the Radical wore, not spectacles with tin or brass rims, as Felix Holt would certainly have done had his sight been impaired, but—an eye-glass! Positively an eye-glass, framed in precisely the same style as that which Colonel Corbett himself wears when his good-humoured face is turned towards a distant object. prise deepened when the Radical, in a low, clear, and admirably pitched voice, with a manner self-possessed without being self-assertive, proceeded to discuss the Prisons Bill, opposing it on the very lines which Sir Walter himself had made his Torres-Vedras when he besieged the Bill last Session.

"This was very remarkable. There was only one thing for an English gentleman to do, and that Sir Walter promptly did. He

rose when Mr. Chamberlain sat down, and, awkwardly conscious of disguising his cart-wheel-and-no-waistcoat theory, publicly abandoned it, holding out over the heads of Mr. Henley and Mr. Beresford Hope, the right hand of fellowship to the radical member for Birmingham."

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It need hardly be said that on entering the House, Mr. Chamberlain took up his quarters below the gangway on the Opposition side, the camping ground of the Radicals. He did not take a prominent part in this first parliament, being content to deal with social questions such as that relating to drink. But as the days passed and he began to feel his feet, he showed whom it might concern that he had a habit of putting them down. There was a memorable occasion when, dissatisfied with Lord Hartington's management of Opposition affairs, he alluded to him as "the noble lord, late the Leader of the Liberal Party." Mr. Gladstone kept his eye upon him, and when, in 1880, the Conservative Party were swept out of the field, and Mr. Gladstone was called upon to form a ministry, he offered a place in it both to Mr. Chamberlain and his then most intimate comrade, Sir Charles Dilke.

At a bound the ex-Mayor of Birmingham was made President of the Board of Trade with a seat in the Cabinet. Then began a career which, for rapid evolution and startling changes, finds a parallel only in that of Mr. Disraeli. Up to 1885, the President of the Board of Trade was the chief representative of the Radical Party in a Cabinet that numbered amongst its members some who were counted as Whigs. In that year, Mr. Chamberlain, going beyond Mr. Gladstone, carried through the country the fiery cross of uncompromising Radicalism known as "the unauthorised programme." Within twelve months of that campaign he had withdrawn from the side of his old chief and made possible the existence of a government the head of which was Lord Salisbury, with his former bitter enemy, Lord Randolph Churchill, leading the House of Commons.

Mr. Chamberlain will live in history in connection with three momentous events. The first was the split of the Liberal party on the Home Rule Bill; the second, the war in South Africa, incidentally marked by the closer drawing of the Colonies to the Mother Country; the third, the unfurling of the Protectionist flag in the Mother Country of Free Trade. It is evidence of his

commanding personality that whilst he probably might have averted the war with the Transvaal, he certainly prevented the establishment of Home Rule in Ireland. None but he could have made the bones of the skeleton of Protection even rattle in effort at rehabilitation.

H. W. LUCY.

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THE BIBLE EDICTS, THE INSCRIPTIONS, AND AVESTA.

It should have been long since allowed as a familiar doctrine that a close relation exists between the Bible Persian edicts, the Inscriptions, and the Avesta; that the Avesta, and in a dimmer sense also the Veda with it, after it and in its train, is an expression of integral parts of our own religious system, which, in fact, together with the exilic and post-exilic Jewish views, is far more Iranian in its analogies than many of us have been at all disposed to think.

Both Avesta and Veda become, in my opinion, precious mines for unearthing the sources of some of our definite theological details, as well as of those which may depict for us the features of our early spiritual life.

My especial point, then, here and in the present writing, is to show that the door of the way is open which leads between the Persian edicts of the Bible and other exilic and post-exilic elements on the one side, and the strophes of the Gathas and other parts of the Avesta on the other; and that this way lies directly through the early Iranian and Irano-Babylonian Inscriptions.

Surely, if studied for the purposes of illustration alone, such a fact should offer us a rich possession. How much more, then, are these sources of knowledge invaluable to us in our great debate as to the very origins of such-like thought!

The Avesta is very closely allied indeed to those Achaemenian Inscriptions in language, doctrine and history, and is not merely to be accidentally used to verify decipherments, while the Inscriptions themselves are fully acknowledged by every one who informs himself to be the actual product of the men who are declared to be the authors of the Biblical Persian edicts. This is our line of claim.

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Upon what grounds, then, can we make any such statements as the above, carrying with them, as they so necessarily must, such serious conclusions? Upon the grounds of the practical identity of the principal features and ideas in the two great systems of religious thought, the Achaemenian and the Zarathushtrian, and of the probable identity of the principal, real or supposititious, supernatural persons or personifications in each. Foremost of all we have that most signal event, the decipherment of the name of the chief Zarathushtrian God as found upon the tablets. I term it a signal event, for its results have been very, far-reaching already; and we know not yet how far they still may reach. We may have become quite callous to such occurrences, or indeed have never thought them worth considering; but none the less, this one formed an epoch in the evolution of all our present scientific knowledge here.

Fancy with what pervading satisfaction our great decipherer, Sir Henry Rawlinson, with his colleagues, must have first noticed the possibility of such an identification. Some one had doubtless often surmised the fact that the Avesta must have expressed the religion of more than a mere fragment of Iranian tribes settled somewhere to the south-east of the Caspian Sea. But here was a searcher upon the very point of bringing to proof that significant theme of probable conjecture. The word Auramazda came clearly out, though only by degrees,* as the chisellers laboured; and a whole new department in our knowledge of the past was opened. And the decipherments of the Achaemenian Inscriptions brought all our Assyriology on, as their result. Seldom have more momentous scientific results depended upon the discovery of single words.

Our points, then, as to the Inscriptions and the Avesta are as follows: -A mass of statements described the victories of Darius, defensive and invasive; and they corroborate the historians where they do not correct them. The most obvious of the conclusions to be drawn from these most plain facts seems for some reason to have been seldom drawn, or at least it seems to have produced but little practical effect upon us. Otherwise every Bible teacher in the land would have a translation of the Achaemenian sculptures in his hand or upon his table. The great majority of Bible scholars have, as I believe, accepted the recorded Edicts of Cyrus, Darius, Artaxerxes

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^{*} Several words had been long deciphered before this supreme discovery was made.

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etc., as being in the main correct. And no one that we have en heard of doubts that the great Achaemenian Inscriptions are real the products of the Kings whose names they bear.

And these latter, together with the vase inscription of Cyrus, fully corroborate the Biblical edicts that they would actually beyond a proof, if possible, and corroborate their necessity, even those edicts had not survived to us, for they would lead us to believe that edicts similar to those of Chronicles, Ezra, etc., must have been once issued and urgently pressed, even if not a trace of them we left to be discovered in the records of the Jewish annalists. The Inscriptions of Cyrus, as confirmed by those of Darius and his successors, plainly show us that the Persian government took for sovereign—not to say full suzerain—action in the case of large trib movements within its vast territory, to which we justly attachs great importance.

Persia probably did not actually *originate* the idea of a return the Jewish people to their ancient home; for ideas of redemption universally lurk fermenting in the minds of exiles; but the Persiz government doubtless saw at once the policy of replacing this "persize liar people" in the central part of Syria, as a useful force to act a scouts or buffers on the great high-road toward Egypt; and having adopted such a plan, it was carried out with a heavy though a general hand, and without too much circumlocution. A few columns is Inscriptions alone suffice to make the great picture stand of instantly in its outlines clear before us.

Persia simply moved the Jewish tribes like pawns upon the board, as she so often did with other minor nations. And edic were, of course, made use of at every turn not only to make known her wishes, but to impress her authority as well. And as the Persian policy deported or "restored" these peoples, so it built city wall and public edifices, but above all, it built "temples," and this their first duty to a disturbed community after subjugations. And with 23 nations, great or small, but for the most part "great," with their scope, such a humane procedure must have alternated continuously with annexations, subjugations and invasions. Wars of attack, defence and suppressions of revolts continuously succeeds one another; formation, revision and renewal of treaties filled to the entire time, and taxed to the utmost the attention of the



leading statesmen, and, above all, the ever wakeful foresight of the King.

No wonder, as we may say in passing, that the tone of royal Inscriptions is so self-centred and self-asserting. Huge events assailing the very thrones of the men who wrote them were transpiring in every quarter of those vast regions, almost one-third of the then known habitable world, and in every year, not to say precisely every month, or every decade. The Inscriptions are a bit out of a people's very life—an actual piece of the then contemporaneous history, offering us the details of a great struggle. We see the very seams with which the missing stones were supplemented, and with little doubt, the Kings themselves viewed the work with satisfaction as it progressed, and with relief when it was finished; if indeed they did not often, and with pardonable vanity, watch it progressing, sentence after sentence, and day by day, under the chisels of their sculptors as they toiled.

If our Bible dictionaries, as I would suggest, should simply devote a few more columns to this theme, the religious public would begin to feel its point, particularly the more advanced portion of the public. Extreme believers, on the other hand, take all too much for granted—they do not care for evidence.

This vitality of religious sentiment which breathes so very sensibly within these records, is what makes them applicable to a comparison with our own Bibles on the one side, and our Avesta upon the other. Else they might be mere barren items bereft of all animated point; and by no means of any special value to express a people's feeling.

And surely, the thought and fervour in the Inscriptions, whatever may have been their chief motives, their successes or mistakes, make them worthy to stand beside any edict—even those of Cyrus and the rest, at least as their elucidation. Outside of the Bible and the Avesta, I can recall no documents of their age which express anything like their particular tone—in parts of them they even show a sort of wrestling in the spirit of their prayer. David himself, pseudo or actual, could hardly have surpassed it—I speak, let it be noted, only of the tone of their supplication. Think what such a feature means. I have endeavoured to hint at it in past writings, and that this spiritual earnestness was of a firm and enduring

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type. And if we have indeed before us, in the inscribed records early Persian religious thought, an expression of religion as genuin nature subjective experience, making itself manifest in practical religion than action, and honestly felt religious words, as in the Jewish David, energy his original, surely this would bring the two lores the more closed have near together. In fact, this might be even a more thoroughly essential bond of union between the two than more exact life-likeness prayed dogmas.

There is an incubus upon us, holding us as if spell-bound to keep exclusive dependence upon Jewish sources for our religious histon were "plenary" or minute inspiration being accorded to the Jewish and trict lists and to them alone. We take it all so much for granted, ignoring the polity the marvellous significance of the data, which I am endeavouring has keep put into clear light. If our convictions rest upon a mere subjective had pervading pseudo-certainty, embedded in a lifetime's growth with nuou our consciousness upon matters otherwise debated by the learned religious world, we should begin and try to shake this nightmare of the garden from the subjective had begin and try to shake this nightmare of the garden from the subjective had been small but impassioned race become pious under a Yahrdwith Elohim, one name perhaps quite gentile and the other plainly plum belief why should we hesitate to recognise the fact that an Ahura Mazik have could inspire a genuine, if not yet quite so full an enthusiast religious fervour?

Do not the terms in the Iranian David's uttered supplication prob show that such a habit of religious life was widely extended in the men lands which were vivified by such a name as I have reverently men rule tioned, whose expressed religious cult, as we have it in the origin on h Avesta, far surpassed in symmetric doctrinal development, at least any pre-exilic views of Israel? And surely the practical righteousness of the Iranian works the international results and surely the practical righteousness than the international results and the international results are the international result of the Iranian under the influence of Asha could not have been mulless lower than that of an Israel corresponding as to time and plat I ac before the exile! What staggers me in my hypothesis is the rather make immense dimensions of the fact, which it is proposed for us to reconstant extensions, as indicated for the heart which it is proposed for us to reconstant extensions. nise, as indicated for us by the immense dimensions of the land ted We can face the proposition that Israel was fervent, or that Zatt thushtra's home was pious, but when we are asked to confront I carview, that Persian household view, that Persian households over the length and breadth of the have Iran really prayed like the great Monarchs on the Inscriptions, form begin to hesitate. I, for one, cannot at all see why. It is certainly most



enum natural that passionate fanaticism should centre in a small community enum natural that passionate fanaticism should centre in a small community than in a large one, beyond a doubt, for so much close central energy is not required to keep a public sentiment alive; and it is also not so likely that the sources of Jewish religious fervour should have been exceeded or indeed equalled, even in a place where leaders prayed like Cyrus or Darius; but we should not abandon our principles too soon.

There was much fierce struggle for thrones and for power to to keep alive religious earnestness in Israel—in a case where thrones iston were claimed as of divinest right; but what reason have we to resame trict the appeals to heaven which became the habit of mind of other none politicians elsewhere, who perhaps claimed their crowns with quite ring has keen a zeal on the score of God's appointment? If a King of Persia jection any faith at all, he must have confided in his Deity conti-with nuously, spontaneously, and as if resistance were beyond his power.

As for Darius himself, with his new postal couriers throughout are of the great domain, reports beyond number must have been coming in a without a break, bringing daily records of events; and it is hard to plur believe that he was at heart a sceptic. He was far more likely to have had his great religion, as one might say of it, upon the brain. Even Greece had not yet then begun to doubt and question. His daily routine, almost like his meals or toilet, was to think out large problems, all involving political change, settlements or resettlements; he all the while being simply possessed with the idea that he ruled as by a supernatural decree, God's plans themselves depending on him.

And why should we doubt that many a princelet underling was likewise filled with such convictions, or with the same one step removed? Israel had great advantages, a perfervid temper, doubtless, and abler men. Isaiah alone was worth a regiment, and, as I acknowledge, she was more compact; but such advantages do not make it impossible that people elsewhere, even if their land was more extensive, and their homes were more wide apart, should be animated by fierce religious passions. If the state of things in Persia only approximated that in Israel, this alone would be deep and moving. I cannot see why we should not reach it as our inference. For we have actual specimens of the tone of the same religion in another form in a remote part of the Empire, sufficiently far off, indeed, from

either Darius's nominal chief city or from his real one, and prevailed at the very time.

The old Avesta hymns, the Gathas, are at least as position proof of pious fervour in their chanters as the recurring expression the Inscriptions prove a corresponding susceptibility in theirs, they surpassed Darius's faith in notable particulars. Here, then, have the distinctly stated facts, each of them being altogether unit of its own class; and they are also closely related, though separate to the places by half the width of Iran.

A religion as close akin to that of Cyrus as Christianity is a to Judaism (so let us say) was spread over those large portions of Empire which were Persian in race. The Aryan Indian religion in the peninsula of Hindustan was also as yet an ungathered in the peninsula of Hindustan was also as yet an ungathered in the peninsula of Hindustan was also as yet an ungathered in the peninsula of Hindustan was also as yet an ungathered in the variety of the same profoundly interesting character, And having been worked up from a primeval Avesta-Veda, like the a side Indian hymns. Here, then, we have this religion in its rudime facus spread, according to unquestioned evidence, over a vast part life, ancient Asia. The religion in its interior elements was the substratum of a great faith in Iran. Israel had as gifted men. It thus that thought deeper than their champions; but he could with with paint like them.

Naturally, we are more anxious for the future. In our endead to edify mankind, we can neither be complacent nor so distributed about the past; but all the same, the future will one day in its become the past; our present should be guided by the thingone by. And it is exactly from this past which I have here in that very serious developments loom up before us in great the yet to be. We are for ever looking for our highest inspiration Judæa, and seem almost to live religiously within its scenes; the time may yet appear when we may draw our stimulus from the which contain still higher elements of intellect.

Can, then, these points here mentioned be maintained? For that objector intervenes here, or he should do so if he can. Every meant contradiction must be welcomed and be met; and, in fact, should suggest some doubts ourselves, and some of those which him propose have not, I think, been so fully advanced elsewhere between as here.

L. H. MILLS.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THEOSOPHY.

(Concluded from our last number.)

THE LAW OF KARMA-MENTAL AND MORAL FACULTIES.

red I HIS brings us to another mighty law of Nature, the law of Karma, as it is called. In the Human Kingdom it can be conthe sidered under two different heads. So far as regards the mental udim faculties and the moral tendencies that each soul brings with it in any life, the law of Karma is merely another name for the law of continuity thet operating through the different lives of the human soul. Nature does not work by fits and starts, and the law of Karma teaches the same lesson as to moral and mental growths. Each one of us starts this life with the moral tendencies and mental capacities he developed in his previous incarnations. Just as this day finds us nearly the same mendeaw tally and morally as we were yesterday, so also is the present life only another day in the long life of the eternal man, "that was, that is, that liss will be, for whom the hour shall never strike." The mental and moral e thi stock in hand with which we start any particular life is what we ourselves gathered in previous existences and is not imposed upon us arbitrarily by the whims of any eccentric superior power.

"Each man's life the outcome of his former being is."

There is no room for complaint here. One man is not born with high intellectual capacities because of the favouritism of a great authority in the cosmos or the blind workings of accidental causes. He has builded that power in the past by years and lives of toil and labour in that direction. Nor is another man born with low mentality because of the wrath or whims of a God with human failings. He has brought with him what he worked for in the past; he is reaping the harvest of his own sowing; each man as to his inner nature is what he has evolved e bell himself into. I am not born with innate tendencies towards evil, and my neighbour with inborn inclinations towards good, by accident or by

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the arbitrary intervention of a compelling power, but he and I are we have evolved ourselves into—we are the results of forces we our have set going in the past.

OUR FUTURE IN OUR OWN HANDS-CAUSE AND EFFECT.

As the present is a continuation of the past, so also will the be of the present, and it rests with us, and with us alone, whether future shall be glorious intellectually and morally, or whether we continue to be petty souls attracted to the lower objects of desire minds not much above the ordinary standard. Effects here, as a where in a universe of law, are proportionate to causes; and a know of this great law of Karma at once gives the reliability which a from a realisation of the invariability of law. If we will bring to the requisite forces, the desired effects will inevitably follow. If m to generate them, it is hopeless to expect disproportionate results. brains have been shaped to be fit instruments for the expression moral and mental qualities we had evolved in the past, and grow those directions is the result of exercise. Every effort to cultivate powers of the mind or to eliminate our evil tendencies and de virtues instead, is bound to have its effect; and so, while showing unreasonableness of repining uselessly over our present want of acity, the law of Karma teaches us to set to work definitely, deliber and of set purpose in the direction of the desired goal, giving " assurance that Law reigns in the moral and the intellectual as as in the physical world, and that the highest intellect as well a loftiest morals lie within the reach of every Son of Man if he can generate the necessary forces in the right direction by a knowled Law. Knowledge here, as elsewhere, is Power. We are builders of own characters, and no time is lost, no effort is wasted that is give the improvement of ourselves; for while the passing things of moment that we gather around us will vanish like the shadows dream, what we gain in character we gain for evermore.

THE LAW OF KARMA—ENVIRONMENT.

Thus far we have tried to understand the working of law as applied to the different stages of mental calibre and moral stature, that we find different men, as also to the organism, the physical brain and body which our souls have to work, and which are suited to the expression our inner nature. What has the law of Karma to say as to the enternal in which each one of us is placed, as to the external conditional life, as to the forces that determine the happy or miserable surrous.

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ings that each soul is to have in any given life? It is an intricate subject, but the law on this point may be summed up thus: According as by our actions in any particular life we spread happiness or misery around us, so will be the conditions, good or bad, that will surround us in the life to come.

> "The bygone wrongs bring forth sorrows and woes, The bygone rights breed bliss."

If a man has been productive by his deeds of happiness to his fellow-creatures, if his life has been altruistic instead of selfish, he generates forces that will result in a life to come in placing him in physical surroundings calculated to produce happiness. If, on the other hand, he has by his acts spread misery and suffering around him, he has set going causes that will result in the future in bringing him into surroundings that are productive of pain and misery.

> "Who toiled a slave might come anew a Prince For gentle worthiness and merit won, Who ruled a king might wander earth in rags For deeds done and undone."

Just as in our inner nature we are what we have made ourselves, just as our physical bodies are adapted to express the qualities we ourselves have built up, so also are our physical surroundings the natural consequences, according to fixed and immutable laws, of the effects of our own acts on others. Here, again, we learn the working of law where, in the absence of this knowledge, there appeared but confusion and chaos.

JUSTICE AMIDST DIFFERENCES.

The great law of Karma explains beautifully the differences in organism and environment, the differences in wealth, family status, social position, mental calibre, moral capacity and worldly circumstances and the various other differences one daily and hourly observes between man and man. It explains why a savage is more akin to a beast than to his civilised brother; why one man has from his birth the stamp of virtue, intelligence and worldly felicity upon him, and why his fellowman brings with his nativity the burden of a diseased body, a poor we fit intellect, a vicious temperament and external circumstances involving d bodi extreme misery. It shows how these differences are reconcilable with ression the working of a merciful, wise and just Law, thus satisfying the innate craving of every soul for finding and understanding Divine Justice in e envi the world. It tells us that the present life is linked to previous lives

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as one day of a single life is linked to the days that have preceded it; he man begins in the present life his evolution from the point at which left it in the last one, bringing with him the mental and moral stock to he himself had then garnered and how all that he reaps now in bod environment and happenings is but the harvest of what he himself some in the past.

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The law of Karma thus restores the reign of eternal justice in the world, consoles us in misery, sobers us in happiness and brings be that serenity and peace during life which is not otherwise attainable. In the absence of any better hypothesis, the theory of reincarnation with its twin law of Karma holds the field. Otherwise stated, the two doctrines proclaim the existence of law where previously the seemed to be but confusion, and they set us to work zealously a assiduously towards a reformation of ourselves by teaching ust rely on the invariability of law and to work daily, hourly, continuous for our ultimate salvation, the future resting entirely in our own hand to make or to mar.

EVOLUTION AND KARMA.

But the law of Karma is not merely the law of cause and effect in the moral and mental realms. It is subservient to the fundament law of Evolution. The suffering that we see in the world is m merely punitive, it is primarily corrective and reforming. human being, however humble and sinful he might be, has not only fully deserved the suffering he now undergoes as the result of his of breaking of Divine law and harmony in the past, but that very suffer ing that he is now passing through, is purifying him. giving him know ledge of the existence of law and teaching him to live in obedience to it, so as ultimately to reach full harmony with the Divine law and life, which means the attainment of unfailing bliss. We learn the laws of nature by observation, and more often by ignorantly gold against them and suffering the consequences; and the great law of Karming the consequences. is teaching us the universal existence of law so as to enable us harmonise our wills fully and completely with the Divine will and consciously co-operate with the Good Law that rules the worlds. my will, O Lord! but Thine be done," is the mental attitude which under the impulse of the law of Karma, we shall finally attain, the attainment whereof shall complete harmony be reached at we shall realise the supreme peace, the peace that passeth under standing.



MAN'S FUTURE.

We come now to man's future evolution. According to Theosophy there will not be evolved on our globe a higher physical form than the human. The human form is the gateway for the eternal spirit to pass on to the higher planes or worlds. The Divine spark in man will take on form after form in the human kingdom and will develop and evolve all the three aspects of Existence, Bliss and Wisdom reflections of similar aspects in the Logos so far as they are capable of development in this world. Man has by his own efforts life after life to subjugate his lower nature, deliberately to cultivate the altruistic elements within him, and to develop the intellectual side of his constitution. At present the tendency towards selfishness (the natural consequence of the separateness of forms), often keeps man away from a realisation of his essential spiritual unity with other selves. The war between the lower and the higher in him is waging; sometimes the separative brute within him proves too strong and drags the powers of the intellect into its service; at other times the Divine unitive aspect shows forth its prowess and triumphantly subdues the lower separative instinct. This battle between the conflicting elements in our nature marks a transitional stage in evolution, and shows that the higher unifying aspects of the Divine within us are beginning to evolve, and this conflict will go on from life to life, and age to age. Only by the most deliberate and conscious effort to subdue the lower nature that was already evolved to its full extent and to bring out the powers of the higher that is only begining to grow, only by prolonged and continued endeavours in the right direction, shall we succeed in bringing about the triumph of the unitive spirit over the separative matter, a triumph that in the absence o conscious co-operation on our side will come only after long æons and ages have gone by. That, then, is the practical lesson for the present stage of evolution that Theosophy has in store for us. Our souls have passed through a long evolution in which the desire nature has fully evolved and the intellect grown to a large extent. The stage we are now entering upon is the evolution of the higher virtues, of the unitive element within us, that which recognises that all selves are one and that not only should one love his neighbour as himself but that therein alone lies eternal bliss, for one's neighbour is from the highes spiritual standpoint verily one's own self.

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole, Whose body Nature is and God the soul."

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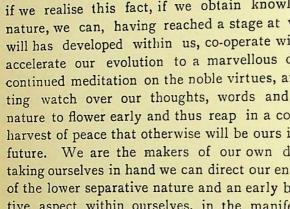
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And no part can hope to be unaffected by the condition of other parts forming the same mighty whole. Theosophy teaches the the tide of evolution will ultimately take us to the shore where will realise their essential unity one with another, a realisation who will be the precursor of Eternal Peace. This consummation will: the normal course be reached after untold periods of time. B if we realise this fact, if we obtain knowledge of the processes nature, we can, having reached a stage at which the Divine aspect will has developed within us, co-operate with the Cosmic process a accelerate our evolution to a marvellous degree. We can by dall continued meditation on the noble virtues, and by a constant, unremined ting watch over our thoughts, words and deeds, cause our high nature to flower early and thus reap in a comparatively short time! harvest of peace that otherwise will be ours in the very, very distant future. We are the makers of our own destiny, and by deliberate taking ourselves in hand we can direct our energies to a speedy conque of the lower separative nature and an early blossoming of the noble un tive aspect within ourselves, in the manifesting whereof alone sha we find the bliss that is beyond expression, the bliss that is a part at parcel of ourselves. As we cultivate unselfish love towards all creature as we endeavour in our thoughts, words and deeds to help and to love an to sympathise with others, as we make it a rule to place ourselve always in the background and to help our neighbour at some cost, ? some sacrifice of our convenience or comfort, as we thus conscious develop the noble instincts of altruism, philanthropy, self-abnegation and selflessness, the aspect of love within us will shine forth as it show in Jesus Christ, in Shri Krishna, in Zoroaster, in Gautama Buddha, at the subjective expression of that love, the inner consciousness following the outer manifestation of this Divine compassion, will be bliss pas thought, a deep sense of peace and harmony and joy, compared which the joys of the lower nature will be realised to be but illusof shadows and valueless nothings.

And as we thus evolve in purity and love, as we thus grow in virtu and altruism, the subtler vehicles within us will become active and we chall learn to chall be a first and we chall be a first and we can be a first and w shall learn to shake off the physical vesture at will and to be conscious active in the higher bodies, bringing within the range of our knowleds the subtler worlds as vividly and fully as the physical. For, increase desire for service and help will bring increased opportunities; and we give all the powers we already have to the helping of others will there evolve in us higher powers, until we rise step by step



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po m m It by tic the scale of evolution, and shine forth, each one of us, as a glorified human being, great in power, great in love, great in wisdom, holding all we have at the service not of ourselves but of humanity at large. That is the glorious goal to which we are climbing, that the mighty destiny that nature has in store for each one of us. May we help each other to realise it in its full measure! What greater service may man do for man?

JOHN FISKE ON MAN'S DESTINY.

It is very strange how this statement of man's future finds much support from a modern evolutionary philosopher, John Fiske, whom we have quoted before. This is what a survey of the process of evolution from a scientific standpoint leads him to believe as to the destiny of man. "On the earth there will be no higher creature than man. When humanity began to be evolved, an entirely new chapter in the history of the universe was opened. Thenceforth there was to be no further evolution of species through physical variation, but through the accumulation of psychical variations one particular species was to be indefinitely perfected and raised to a totally different plane from that on which all life had hitherto existed. Not the production of any higher creation but the perfecting of humanity is to be the glorious consummation of nature's long and tedious work. Man is slowly passing from a primitive social state in which he was little better than a brute towards an ultimate social state in which his character shall have become so transformed that nothing of the brute can be detected in it. Whereas in its rude beginnings the psychical life was but an appendage to the body, in fully developed humanity the body is but the vehicle fo the soul. I can see no insuperable difficulty in the notion that at some period in the evolution of humanity this Divine spark may have acquired sufficient concentration and steadiness to survive the wreck of material forms and endure for ever. Such a crowning wonder seems to me no more than the fit climax to a creative work that has been ineffably beautiful and marvellous in all its myriad stages. The future is lighted for us with the radiant colours of hope. Strife and sorrow shall disappear. Peace and love shall reign supreme. The dream of poets, the lesson of priest and prophet, the inspiration of the great musician is confirmed in the light of modern knowledge." modern scientist has responded sympathetically to the ancient prophet. It is indeed a matter of deep delight that the future, as shadowed forth by the opened vision of the seer of old should find echo in the deductions of the scientist of to-day. Truly do both proclaim:

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"Ye are not bound. The Soul of things is Bliss;
The heart of Being is Celestial rest.
Stronger than woe is will. That which is good
Doth pass to better, best."

THE GLORIOUS END.

Having reached that culminating point in the human evolution having become perfect as men, there will still open before us vaste vistas of knowledge and service; every expansion of the desire to sent and be useful will entitle us to increased powers and opportunities to being helpful; world after world will open before our gaze; veil after veil shall be lifted from the face of Isis; and thus, step by step, shall grow in the triple aspects of Being, Bliss and Wisdom, until grow in the triple aspects of Being, Bliss and Wisdom, until grow in the triple aspects of Being, Bliss and Wisdom, until grow in the triple aspects of Being, Bliss and Wisdom, until grow shall be "perfect as our Father in Heaven is perfect"—until we shall share His Glory, His Power, His Love, shall enlarge our consciousness, into His Full and Richer Life.

Thus shall the tiny consciousness that was scarcely perceptible; the mineral, that manifested its aspect of sensation in the plant brought out its feelings and its reasoning powers in the animal and man expand, as time goes on, into the wisdom and love of the Prophet, and ultimately shine out as a mighty consciousness, realising in full measure the bliss beyond thought and the peace past expression that is his birth right, and rest in the bosom of the mighty Lord from whom it flashed forth originally as a ray, to be a sharer in His wisdom, His power and His ineffable bliss. That is our glorious goal, that our blessed destiny. Many we realise it fully and work wholeheartedly towards its attainment!

JEHANGIR J. VIMADALAL.

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PART I.

YEAR ago, while engaged in some literary researches, it became necessary for me to inspect that remarkable, but little known collection of books in the India Office Library, where I noticed, in one of the cases, a small volume of antique appearance, entitled, "The Persian Cromwell." The book bears date 1724, and purports to give an account of the life and surprising achievements and successes of Miri-Ways, Great Duke of Candahar and Protector of the Persian Empire. Its author is a Swedish officer who, for many years, was "Domestic Slave to Miri-Ways." The volume contains a well-executed engraving of Miri-Ways " from an original painting." In the author's preface he gives an interesting account of himself, his wanderings and adventures, and how he came to own the Duke of Candahar as his master. He tells that his curiosity led him to Constantinople, and that, having arrived so far, his determination was formed to proceed farther, to see some of the eastern countries. When studying at the University, his particular tastes had led him to read closely descriptions of the Oriental nations, and these attracted him to Persia.

When a few days' journey from Erzeron he left his caravan, and, induced by Armenians, wandered to some distance till he came to a high mountain, distinguished by a name that, translated, means "The Mountains which bar Great Persons" (all being obliged to dismount there).

Here the party was set upon by a troop of horsemen, Tartar robbers, who made them prisoners, carrying our author before their Sultan, Prince Usmei, who made a present of him to Miri-Ways of Candahar, and the latter, after giving him full liberty, employed him

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in the work of fortifying the city. Some years having passed at our author finding his "roving fire" spent, was possessed with, longing to return to his own country. "An opportunity occurred he writes, "when Miri-Ways would make use of me upon his man to Persia; for I left the troops of this Prince upon the borders Georgia, and went to the Russians." These assisted him to ge back into his own country. His relations and friends, not having had the least news of him since his setting out, were overjoyed see him, and thanked heaven for his "delivery from the hands Miri-Ways with such fervency as if I had been in the fiery oven in the lions' den" The opinions of his friends on the character the Persian ruler seem to have incensed and greatly offended or friend, "for," he says, "I knew this man whom they called a bar barian much better, and my esteem for him had been such that when I was with him I had even taken the pains to delineate the chiefer features of his face."

Our author's desire to clear the character of Miri-Ways from the aspersions cast on it by prejudice and ignorance led him to narrate something of what he knew personally of the Great Duke to his immediate friends. On one of these occasions one of the company offered to print his narration, and stated his own conclusion that "there was some similitude between the Miri-Ways and the famous Cromwell, Protector of England." This view finding favour with the party, our author obligingly gave the title of "The Persian Cromwell" to his story.

This much we have written by way of introducing our subject. Miri-Ways was the son of Emir Muhamad Bakir and Guny, the most beloved of his wives. Possessed of great estates, Muhamad Bakir was increasing his wealth by frequent incursions into neighbouring countries, more specially Persia. A native of Bucha (Bokhara) and a chief Lord amongst the Tartars, he was a faithful believer in Muhamad and the Koran, and in this he differed from the rest of his countrymen who, while accepting as their chief book doctrine the Koran, assert that this book was not compiled by the Prophet but by God himself, who gave it to men through Moses and the prophets. Guny, also, his wife, herself the daughter of a great lord, held the same faith as her husband, and for the same reason hated the Persians, and with equal bitterness. We find her, therefore

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inflaming her husband's animosity against Persia, and eagerly accepting from him, according to the custom of her country, flasks filled with the blood of her enemies, in which she drank his health. While Muhamad Bakir was yet a young man, an event occurred which made his native land intolerable to him. It was nothing less than an invasion by the Calmucks, who poured their hordes into Bokhara, led by their Prince Bosta Cham, who broke through "as a rapid torrent, over-running all the country with his troops, like an inundation." The Bokharians clearly saw that their choice lay between two evils, either forced slavery or a voluntary recognition of the pagan conqueror as over-lord. They elected the latter. To Muhamad Bakir such a lot was insupportable. His hatred for the Calmucks had frequently led him to pay them sharp visits in their cottages and tents. Prudence forbade him with the limited forces at his disposal to attempt to restore liberty to his country; yet his patriotism equally forbade his remaining at home under a pagan ruler. He decided, in these distressing circumstances, to voluntarily exile himself and to watch and work for an opportunity to free his native land from her unwelcome guests. Guny, his beloved wife, supported his resolution, and by her advice he wrote to her relations who promised him all the assistance in money and men that they could give him, glad to have the opportunity of welcoming amongst them so brave a chief.

With his wives and his household, his slaves and his cattle, his gold and his silver, he set out on his long journey, and crossing the Oxus, settled in Balch, where brave men flocked to him. Balch lies between what was then a province of the Great Mogol of India—Turkestan—and the Persian Khorasan, the ruler of Balch being in alliance with the Great Mogol. Muhamad Bakir saw in this fact a possible outlet for his ambitions. He would do exploits, and no exploit at the moment seemed to him so well worth doing as an incursion, with his numerous followers, into Persian territory. It would add lustre to his name and please the powerful Mogol of India, Aurung Zeb, who could never for a moment forget that Candahar had been taken from his ancestors by Persia. It was successful, and by it Muhamad Bakir gained fame, and great booty. The mode of warfare followed was then common to the Uzbegian Tartars. Knowing that they could not come up with the Persians either in arms or

military organisation, they recognised that much depended on the swiftness. Their custom was therefore to :—

run into a country, as swift as lightning, and then retire and run off with the booty Their incursions (says our author) are generally undertaken in the most excessively hot times, through the wild and scorching deserts, without their taking any care for meat or drink for themselves, for they satisfy their hunger with the flesh of their horses that carry the provender, which they kill from time to time as soon as their saddle horses have consumed the fodder carried by the former, and with the blood of the same they quench their drough. Their very saddle horses (he adds) must often serve them for this latter purpose, for they open of the same a vein in the neck, out of which they suck the blood; and the horses, too, have been customed to this.

These earlier successes of Muhamad Bakir led to the conclusion of a treaty with the Mogol of India, of which the point was that he should lead the Tartars to Candahar, and "in case they conquered that Province they should remain in the possession thereof, and have Muhamad Bakir for the Emir or Prince." important condition attached, namely, that he should receive the investiture from the Great Mogol, who promised to assist the enterprise with men and money. Now Candahar, situated as it is on the borders of India-at that period the country of the Great Mogol-& well as on the Persian border, might well be considered as a key w both countries. Again and again had the Great Mogol endeavoured to recover Candahar from the Persians, by whom it had been taken in the year 1622, but always unsuccessfully, until our Muhamad Bakir appeared on the scene. Our author tells a very interesting story of the siege of Candahar, and of the diplomacy, skill and bravery evinced by Muhamad Bakir. This story it is not our intention to follow in detail, but merely to indicate the conclusion of his labour directed to the re-taking of this rich and important province. do so in the author's own words :-

A battle ensued (the armies are at the time within a few league of Candahar) in which both sides fought for some time with great obstinacy, but at last Muhamad Bakir prevailed and got the victory by means of his artillery (manned by some English and Dutch) and pursued the fugitive Persians for two days together, killing a great number of them. Nine thousand men lay slain in the field of battle and the whole Persian camp, with all the stores, &c., was got as booth

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While the battle was proceeding, or immediately on its conclusion, Muhamad Bakir sent into the town the head of one of the fallen warriors of Persia, together with several bags of ears which had been cut off from the slain Persians, threatening the defenders that if they did not surrender shortly they should be dealt with in the same manner. "This," naively adds our author, "caused no small consternation among the besieged." Although at the time the gruesome tokens were despatched, the city had not capitulated, yet Muhamad Bakir was so sure of the ultimate results of the siege that he sent without delay an express to the Great Mogol, and to the Chan at Balch, with the pleasing news of his great victory. The expresses were mounted on dromedaries, which "ran with more speed than horses." The siege was pursued, meanwhile, with great vigour, till at last a great piece of the town wall and a good deal of the fortifications were battered down. Muhamad Bakir had decided on a general assault when the Town Commander, after holding a hurried council, agreed to open his eyes to the inevitable, and surrender the city, much to the satisfaction, we may be sure, of the attacking general.

It was agreed upon (writes our author) that the Persian garrison should march out of the town with their baggage; to have all the honours of war allowed in such cases; and to be convoyed for some miles by the Tartars; but that the great guns and other war-like stores should remain in the town. The Tartars (continues the narrator) had indeed concluded to plunder the Persians on their march—(a fine convoy!) because of their obstinate defence, but were prevented from doing so by Muhamad Bakir, who was not only resolved to have his word and promise kept inviolate, but also had another private reason for the same, viz., that he would not quite disoblige the King of Persia, with whom he designed to make some terms of alliance in case the Great Mogol, whom he knew to be not over-scrupulous in the performing of his promises, should not at some time or other be desirous to have the town to himself and endeavour to disturb Muhamad Bakir in possession of the same.

The loss of Candahar was a terrible blow to the Persians who, to secure their other provinces from molestation made an agreement with Muhamad Bakir ceding all their rights, titles and pretensions to Candahar, in return for a promise from the conqueror that he would not attempt to molest any more of their provinces, and that he would prevent the Great Mogol from attacking Persia on

that side. On the fall of Candahar, Muhamad Bakir's position we such that the Great Mogol and the King of Persia were obliged flatter him by turns. Yet in spite of the overtures and profession of the Persian Shah there exists evidence to show that he we privately intriguing to take away the life of his enemy to whom he was professedly reconciled.

The cup of pleasure which Good Fortune held to the lips of Muhamad and Guny, his wife, was not full to the brim. To cause to overflow another life must be summoned. The pair had no so Years had passed in their married life, but brought no heir with them to the successful man. Guny had hoped and waited patient and faithfully, with prayers to Allah, that he would bless her with a boy, but the coveted blessing was withheld. It was in the years Muhamad Bakir's greatest successes that this missing joy was voud safed him, and Guny, his beloved wife, became the proud mother of son. Having waited so long for his appearance it was easily believe by the superstitious Tartars that Fate had something well work having in store for this young Prince, who had not come into the world before his father had acquired honour and power by his victories.

Stories most marvellous clustered around his birth. One of the most probable of these is that some short time before he was born his mother had a very remarkable dream. "It seemed to her the an eagle flew out of her lap, and went rising very high in the and the higher he soared the greater he grew, till at last he shade with his wings all Persia and a part of India."

Commenting on this vision, our author says:-

This dream, therefore, she would explain thus, that Providence would very much exalt this young Prince: and that more particularly he would do great feats in Persia, and protect that country.

Very quaint are the author's remarks on the early years of the illustrious boy. He says:—

He was in course educated with his parents' utmost care, and did really shew in his tender years that he had a great soul, for undertook nothing childish. (What do our modern educators say to super a theory?) He was always friendly, affable and active, and shew the greatest joy when he was to be carried from the Harem, or out the company of women into that of men.

While but a very young child our hero had many opportunities

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of seeing strangers, and amongst them many Europeans, who passed with their merchandise from Persia to the Indies, and from the Indies to Persia. Some of the richest and most extensive traders presented costly offerings to Emir Muhamad Bakir as they passed through Candahar.

A story is told that on one occasion the pictures of several great potentates were presented to him, and he shewed them to his boy, and attentively watched him as he looked at them, apparently with marked interest, but on coming to that of the King of Persia he dashed it vehemently to the ground, greatly to the astonishment of his speculative parent. Before the Prince had attained his eighth birthday he had mastered, with the assistance of tutors, both the Persian and Arabian tongues, and given many other signs of his studiousness. When he had turned eight his father determined on a great festival in connection with the naming of the Prince, and the rite of circumcision attending the reception of good Mussalman into the Faith of the Prophet.

Muhamad sent his ambassadors to the Great Mogol, to the King of Persia and to the Chams of Tartary, his allies, and to other Princes, whose countries bordered upon his, inviting them to honour the solemn festival by sending their ambassadors. This invitation was cordially accepted, so that ambassadors from almost all places arrived at Candahar, at the appointed time. In addition to the foreign ambassadors were assembled the family and kindred of Muhamad Bakir, and all the chief officers of his castle, and a sumptuous feast was spread at which ornamental wax candles were burnt in great profusion, and during the feast musicians discoursed The first day of sweet music and Indian women danced elegantly. the feast passed and the evening of the second arrived, bringing with it the hero of the feast, who came in great state from the harem, preceded by gorgeously dressed officers riding on richly caparisoned horses; Tartar youths carrying a great many wax candles of all sorts of colours, adorned with images, some of them playing on several sorts of musical instruments. Here it may be advisable to again quote our author; he writes:—

Next appeared two fine banners, of a green colour, and a wax candle of an uncommon size, viz., fourteen yards in length, adorned with various colours, images and tinsel. Next followed ten lesser

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candles and two banners with a new band of musicians. Lastly car a large candle again, like the former, which was followed by Prince's tutor and his body horse, as also a great number of office with several fine sumpter horses richly caparisoned. Then appear young Miri-Ways, all alone on horseback, having on each side of him; officer walking on foot; he was dressed in a coat of gold cloth with flowers, and his turban was adorned with two hern's feathers faster to a large square jewel; he had a sabre on his side chased all over w diamonds which the Great Mogol had given him; and a pusik (purse?) of crystal, set in gold and fastened to his saddle: on his h he wore boots sumptuously adorned with gold and jewels; and the again the procession was closed with a great number of officers, allt houses in the town being finely illuminated, as well as the castle. soon as young Miri-Ways was come thither, he kissed his father hands and paid his compliment to the whole assembly, and then the marched from the castle to the great mosque (which was also illuminate all over) in the aforesaid order, save that now Muhamad Bakir hims with the whole assembly, accompanied his son. In the mosque t young prince was circumcised by an ancient eminent officer The young prince lifted up his hands after the Turkish manner calling a aloud "God is an only God, and Muhamad is His Prophet." By the act he had the name of Muhamad Miri-Ways given him by his father and when all was over great acclamations and rejoicings were hear with drums beating and pipes playing with all sorts of music. The all the company being returned to the castle a fine artified firework after the Eastern manner was let off in the evening and after that the feast lasted for three days more, not only with treatings in castle and in the harem, but also to the populace, who had who oxen, roasted, given them, in each of which was a mutton, in the mutto en and in the hen an egg. Muhamad Bakir ordered, besides this distribute much money amongst the army and the poor. There also in the activity also in the castle several comedians, who acted their parts, making company laugh by their comical actions and their odd gestures postures; and thus concluded the whole feast and solemnity.

The manly little Miri-Ways, having been admitted by the finto the fellowship of the Faithful, asked to be instructed thorough in the Koran; he wished, too, to learn the history of other nationand his father spared no pains or expense to get the books translate for him into Persian or Arabic, and in his endeavours he was assed by the English at Surat. One of the young prince's favour

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books was the Life of Cromwell, the Protector of England, "at whose fortune, success and cunning, he was thoroughly astonished."

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assis vour Miri-Ways read and studied deeply the traditions and customs of the Persians and Tartars, and was so enthusiastic and determined in his efforts that he outdid all the fellows of his own age, and raised still higher the hopes of his fond and proud parents. It was suggested to his father, by the Tartars, who believed in the many superstitious presages and omens at his birth, to take his son to an Iman, or Saint, who lived in a cave in the mountains, about nine miles distance from Candahar, and was famous all over the country for his prophecies.

Muhamad Bakir, accompanied by his son, and a few attendants, reached the home of the wizard. They found him in a cool grotto, sitting in lamp-light, surrounded by books, and mathematical instruments. But we will let our author tell his own story:—

He, the Iman, was a venerable person, whose snowy hair seemed to represent the decay of time and transitoriness of life; but his brisk and lively face seemed to be the trope of the soul's immortality. presently knew the persons of the two princes, and told them what they came for and that he had learned already from the stars that the young prince (meaning Miri-Ways) was designed by Fate for something very great. but that he would nevertheless inquire of Fate itself about it. He consequently brought forth eight dice, strung upon two copper wires, and with the same he proceeded in various ways and manners to hit the right lot. Next he took forty thin pieces of boards placing them before the persons present, which pieces of board were written upon on the lower side, and Muhamad Bakir was to choose one of these boards and ask his question, which consisted in this, that he wished to know what good or bad fortune Fate had decreed for the prince, his son, there present. Upon this the Iman pronounced some words; considered of the writing upon the piece of board drawn out by him and then fetched a very long and large book, three or four inches thick, whose leaves were painted with a variety of angels, devils, dragons and all sorts of animals; worms and insects, partly painted in an agreeable and partly in horrid forms and shapes. This book he took up several times muttering at the same time to himself continually, till at last he hit on a figure which he compared with the writing upon the little board, and prognosticated that Fate had decreed this young prince for a wise and great general who would maintain with great 278

The child did not forget the words of the Iman, when he him; on the contrary he thought very often on what had be predicted and longed that the years should pass swiftly, that might be old enough to enter the army and try the fortunes of mone occasion he begged his father to permit him to go Buchary where, in his youthful enthusiasm, he thought there we probably be some fighting that he might take part in it. But father explained to him that it was not always necessary for a great hero to have been in the wars from his infancy, but that skill a cunning are quite as necessary as strength of arms, and proposed send him to the court of the Great Mogol when he should attached the strength of the should attached the should attached the strength of the should attached the strength of the should attached the strength of the should attached the should attached the strength of the should attached the should be should attached the should be should be

It seemed a long time to which to look forward, yet will diligently pursuing his studies the time passed rapidly, and the young prince, with a retinue of about two hundred, set out for the court of the Great Mogol of India—(1702). He had told his fall of his deep wish and longing to see the countries near the sea, esp cially the trade of the Europeans, whom he highly esteemed, his wise and indulgent father arranged that he should visit Surat a the Gulf of Cambaja, at that time a "great, opulent and fine ton of trade, very much and particularly frequented by the English Dutch and French." The Sultan of the Provinces received him well and after he had inspected the counting houses of the foreigner and their ships, accompanied him to Ahmadabad, where he st further remarkable sights. His next visit was Agra, formerly place of residence of the Great Mogol. After sundry other visit hearing that the Great Mogol was at Bengal with all his Court whither he had gone to visit his army, and to be out of the way his numerous sons, who he feared might combine against him, as and his brothers had done against their father. Miri-Ways deto mined to make for the place. Here he found the aged monarch India and his Court in a wide field, "where the many tents reserved bled at a distance a vast town."

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He was well received by the old man, Aurung Zeb, whose great weight of years, for he was upwards of ninety, sat but lightly on his shoulders. Miri-Ways presented the rich and costly gifts sent by his father, in a pleasing manner, and the Great Mogol expressed unmistakably his satisfaction. The most powerful lords were not slow to imitate their monarch's behaviour to his guest, and young Miri-Ways being of an amiable disposition he soon ingratiated himself in everybody's love and esteem.

He to whom monarchs show favour can scarcely hope to escape provoking jealousy, and Miri-Ways was no exception. Amongst the lords was a young prince, Chiriquilis, who boasted a family connection with the Great Mogol. He was of a haughty and spiteful temper, which he displayed on several occasions to our hero. It happened once that as Miri-Ways was going from the royal castle to his own palace; he encountered this ill-disposed man with a great train of servants, who, acting under instructions, purposely blocked the way. Miri-Ways remonstrated, and asked his opponent civilly why he treated him so.

The haughty Chan would not so much as vouchsafe a reply but only commanded his people to let the fugitive Tartar go along. Wisely restraining his anger, out of respect for the royal castle, Miri-Ways passed along through the midst of the Chan's people without a word, but when he reached his palace he sent a letter demanding satisfaction from the offender. The answer he received from Chiriquilis was to the effect "that though he was not used to fight with children, he would nevertheless come to teach him how to deal with persons of his condition."

In the early morning, on a hill-top, in the vicinity, our hero met Chiriquilis—who had kept him waiting an hour—and completely vanquished him, magnanimously sending one of his own surgeons to see him, and to save, if possible, his life.

The news of the duel reached the ears of the Great Mogol, so that our Prince thought it best to see him and tell him the cause of the quarrel. Prostrating himself before the ruler, his hand touching the floor, he gave him the particulars with which we are already acquainted. To his surprise, on hearing his history, the Great Mogol asked if the Chan were still living. On hearing that he was, the monarch commanded an attendant to go and fetch his head.

Then the successful duelist fell at the feet of the Ruler and n humbly begged for the life of his enemy, nor did he rise before had obtained it. This public acknowledgment of his esteem the Prince on the part of the Great Mogol cleared away the by looks from all faces, for who dared frown on the favoured of Aun Zeb?

The birthday of the monarch was always kept as a great a splendid festival, he himself appearing on his magnificent throwhich was supported on feet of massive gold and covered all or with rubies, emeralds and diamonds, gathered together by his father during many years. The Grand Signior, gorgeously dressed, and the great Lords, were present on the august occasion, and the gland of precious stones, gems and jewels was dazzling to the eyes of beholders. There was a sumptuous birthday feast and on the the day the Great Mogol caused himself to be weighed, on massive greates, chased with diamonds, the weights used being also of signide.

Our hero's father, who followed his son's career with closez keen interest, had sent the prince many valuable presents to give the monarch. The presentation took place on the occasion of weighing ceremony, the Ruler graciously accepting, and to mark! satisfaction giving to Miri-Ways in return a very fine dress honour, and a turban of great value.

On the next day (says the chronicler), there was a fight elephants at which were present not only the Great Mogol and Omnibut also the Princesses and ladies from the Seraglio, though these late looked on for the most part covered, from the windows.

At one of the windows Miri-Ways espied a young and beautile lady, and having once caught sight of her he lost all interest in the elephant fight, following her every movement intently with eyes. He very much wanted to know who the beautiful lady might be, but he had not sufficient courage to inquire, even had he know whom to ask.

The Royal Seraglio, it is almost needless to say, was so we guarded that no men other than eunuchs, were permitted to enter and none knew who was locked up there. Amongst the knight who accompanied our Prince from Candahar was a "sly and order person who had made acquaintance with one of the Great Mographics."

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black eunuchs." Miri-Ways remembered him at this juncture, and sent him an order to come and speak with him. On seeing him he entrusted him with his secret and asked him to go and search out his black friend, the eunuch, and inquire from him who she was that stood in such and such a window, looking on at the elephant fight. All sorts of ladies were brought up in the Seraglio, in addition to the wives and concubines of the Great Mogol. The skilful knight immediately sought out his black friend, and after carefully describing the exact position occupied in the particular window he learnt from the eunuch that the beauty was the youngest daughter of Prince Mathoudin, and was called after her great aunt, Ranchanara-Begum, a name signifying "The Light of Princesses." She was a great grand-daughter of the Great Mogol, her father being the second son of that monarch's eldest son. The eunuch also volunteered the information that he had himself the chief charge of her.

The knight was instructed by Miri-Ways to bring the black eunuch to see him. After giving him a handsome present the Prince inquired whether the Princess was under any engagement, and to his joy was told that she was fancy-free, being in the Seraglio solely for educational purposes. But here again we let the author tell his own tale. The Prince desiring the eunuch to procure him an opportunity of speaking with Ranchanara-Begum in private, promised to oblige him, in return, in anything he might wish.

The eunuch at first represented the danger he would be in should he be caught in the Seraglio, together with the impossibility of speaking with her out of the said place; but the Prince having added a valuable jewel to his first present, and requesting once more of him to use his utmost endeavours to bring this affair about, the fellow was at last induced to a promise that he would think of some means to satisfy his desire. The following day he came again to the Prince, telling him how he had by chance an opportunity to speak of him to Ranchanara-Begum whom he had been obliged to inform where the Prince stood on the day of the fight of the elephants; and that he had preceived she was not averse to him, as she had so particularly inquired after him; so she being a great lover of pearls, he knew no better expedient for the Prince than to come into the Seraglio disguised in the habit of a pearlmerchant, when he would privately carry him to a place, where he might speak with the Princess alone. This was pleasing news to the Prince, who chose presently a parcel of the best pearls he was possessed of

and, dressed like a Benjanian merchant, was carried that afternoon, the Seraglio. At first the Princess took him to be really what represented, but they two being left together alone, he fell at her and discovering who he was, assured her that from the first momentad seen her he had been obliged to adore her, wishing for not else than that Fate might have designed such a miracle of beauty him.

Of course the Prince won his suit, and although the old copy this remarkable little book here breaks off the story abruptly, so ruthless hand having torn out a leaf, yet there is satisfaction reading that

the articles of marriage were no sooner agreed upon, than nuptials were celebrated after the Mahometan manner, with gromp and solemnity, and the Great Mogol, who loved Miri-Ways as he had been his own son, shewed himself, notwithstanding his advantage, very merry and pleased at this feast; after which Ranchamer Begum wishing, as well as her parents, that she might tarry all while longer at Indostan, our Prince again desired his father's come and obtained his leave, for continuing two years more at the Grand Mogol's Court, notwithstanding everybody at Candahar wishing to this newly married couple quickly. He had consequently a great of and retinue, and scarce a year was passed when his wife brought his son (in the year of our Lord 1704) to the great joy of both courts.

Having followed the fortunes of Miri-Ways through infant childhood and youth, and brought him to man's estate and fatherhood, we propose, still adhering closely to the information afforded by our author, to give some account of his public career a statesman and a general.

JAMES CASSIDY.

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SPORT.

If East & West is designed to make the two halves of the globe intelligible to each other, there should be room in its pages for an exposition of sport. It is a characteristic and notable idea of the West particularly of England, and it enters into the composition of most Englishmen in India. Indeed, it may be said that it is almost the only native English interest that survives in India. The Anglo-Indian leaves behind in England the domestic and social life of his own and, politics, art and literature, and has to replace them by other interests; but his sporting tendencies he need not throw away; in fact, it often happens that India offers him a wider and more genuine phere.

Let us try, then, first, to say what sport means to the best sportsmen around us. It is a contest on fair terms, a contest of courage, endurance and skill. It may be a contest between man and man, or between man and beast; it includes in the former case racing, boxing and wrestling; in the latter case shooting, fishing and hunting. As a matter of fact it is these last amusements to which the word sport usually refers; contests between man and man generally fall under the head of games, to which we shall come later on. There are also contests arranged by man between animals—bull-baiting, cock-fighting and, in our own day, horse-racing and coursing.

The first point to be noted is that a sporting contest, that is a fair contest, is one in which each side has a chance of winning. If the chances are not equal, sporting sentiment demands that they shall be artificially equalised. Thus, in boxing matches competitors of equal weight are matched against each other; in racing handicapping has been introduced; in hunting and coursing the fugitive animal gets his allowance of distance—his "law"—before he is pursued; in shooting the bird must rise on the wing before the shot is fired unless he is one of those wary creatures whose protection lies in the difficulty of approaching them.

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The contest, we have said, is one of courage, endurance and In the noblest forms of sport these qualities are all required; sport ceases to be sport in proportion as any one of them is not exercise A good example of true sport is what we call by the homely name of sticking," which is the chief glory of Indian sport. There are van forms of sport which decline from this ideal. Shooting small game quail and snipe—is quite a sufficient trial of endurance and whether it be practised on a cold day in Europe or a hot day in li It cannot be denied the honourable name of sport, though min hunters, like Outram, may have despised it because it does not call courage. But we can scarcely be said to have sport when both cour and endurance are in abeyance. Pigeon-shooting from traps practised at Monte Carlo and elsewhere, does not deserve the m It is a matter of mere skill, and is nothing better than a game.

So much for the definition of sport; let us look for a momental place in human history. Modern sport is very much an artificial at It does not belong to the primitive stages of our history. The savage the jungle kills animals to protect himself or feed himself, without thought of the conditions under which this is done. His views strictly utilitarian. As far as we can penetrate his mind, he seems have little pleasure in the chase itself, however much he enjoyst results of it. The dangers and the difficulties are too great and heist much in earnest about the prey. It is at a later stage that he best to enjoy the chase and the victory for their own sake, and this is their stage which we still have with us in the shape of "sport." The sport man of to-day, as we feel by a true instinct, is the man who returns this semi-barbarian life of his ancestors; who "loves the red ded like William Rufus. The objects of his pursuit are still the danger or edible beasts whom his forefathers pursued. Two kinds of creature have nothing to fear from him, those which he cannot eat and the which are too easily killed. The latter may be good to eat-but bands the hands them over to the professional butcher; they may be now vermin, but he pays some one else to put them down. The may be difficult to kill—but not being suitable for the kitchen, the not interest the sportsman. I read the other day that President other d Loubet had come in for criticism because he shot a woodpecker appears the bird is a difficult mark and tempted the President for reason, but it is not additionally reason, but it is not edible and the President was wrong in yield to temptation. This is all to temptation. This is why I have described sport as an affair. Our tables may be affair. affair. Our tables no longer depend on the chase, and we

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SPORT 285

poison all the foxes in England in a month, but we go on shooting and hunting because it satisfies an old instinct. It is curious in this connection how sportsmen have kept alive old customs, partly to satisfy, partly even to arouse this instinct. Down to the eighteenth century, I believe, lingered the sanguinary process of cutting up the deer at the end of the chase, which Scott, with cautious tact, introduces here and there in his writings. Details of the same character are not yet extinct in the hunting field.

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It would, however, be pedantic to explain sport merely as the survival of an instinct. It has its plain and definite uses, even from the moralist's point of view. Courage and endurance are qualities that need no praise, and are worth a price. Amid the growing luxury of modern civilisation, sport is an influence that keeps these qualities alive. There is no doubt that many men do deliberately seek to fortify themselves by these means, which to an earlier generation were a natural and ordinary part of their occupations. In this way, too, men's sport is an artificial affair, and in another way still, in the feeling which it demands between man and his prey. This feeling, it is held, ought to be a generous one. The true sportsman, it is held, challenges his enemy; defeats him if he can-or accepts defeat; he is glad to winbut does not brag of it; if he loses, he does not grudge his enemy the victory. These ideas seem quite appropriate and creditable in connection with some contests—races for instance; but in many forms of sport they seem unnatural or out of place. Nevertheless, they have made their way into almost all of its varieties. It is true that hunting songs which celebrate the death of foxes affect a just indignation at the villain's offences in hen-roosts, but if we look at the feelings with which a European sportsman views a tiger's carcase (fairly earned), they will be found to unite satisfaction with respect for the dead. He does not, like his beaters, jeer at the creature and revile its female ancestors. Whatever we may say logically of this rule against hating your enemies (your prey, if the expression be preferred), it has worked well in practice and mitigated the cruelty of sport. Still, it is a strange and artificial state of things that this sort of good feeling should co-exist with a disposition to kill. I believe it is a way in which the refinement of modern times excuses to itself the necessary cruelty of sport; the sportsman feels that he can only defend himself on this point by keeping his conscience clear of malevolence.

We have now painted more or less fully the best sportsman of the nineteenth century. He attracts us by his energy, his courage, his

sense of fairness, and finally his willingness to take a risk himself last point is involved in the others; it is really a part of courage deserves special notice because it is a quality much valued by pop sentiment. "A sporting offer" is an offer to do something in wh genuine risk is involved. Here, then, we may speak of betting: bes has become a part of sport merely for this reason, that it involves an sonal risk. The spectator at a contest—a race for instance—can betting identify himself with one of the competitors; thus he de in a sense, enter into the contest. For all that the sport with is so created deserves little praise and breeds a great deal of by guardism.

I should like to mention here a subject on which want of space? ignorance forbid me to enlarge—the history of sporting ideas and types of sportsmen who, at different times, have actually lived a flourished. Was there any sporting feeling among the Greek Xenophon at least wrote a book on the subject; and the mere please of the chase is prehistoric. In the Mahawanso of Ceylon we are to that the king, according to custom, gave a certain amount of "law"! a deer which he was chasing, and this ended in his being drawn to it deeper parts of the jungle, where he was met and converted by the Mahindo. After this, of course, there was no more sport sanctioned Buddhist kings in Ceylon, and Jataka relates how a hunter who mere aimed an arrow at a deer "did not escape the three greater and fr lesser hells and the eleven forms of torture." This, however, is by way. In England during the last two centuries we have certainly is 10f many country gentlemen who belonged to the amiable class of sports men.

This remains true in spite of all that is justly said about the brutalising effects of the cockpit and the ring. The literal evidence of the existence and character of such men is scatter throughout old-fashioned books of reminiscences—like those of Trollopes, and may partly be gathered from the back numbers of Field and Baily's Magazine. It is curious that this race of sports has left so little has left so little mark on English fiction. I cannot recollect any tinct attempt in tinct attempt to draw their picture except Mr. "Pickwick Papers," and he is too much coloured by Dickens' farch proclivity. The true sportsman is scarcely to be found in Scott, thousand the scarcely the Sir H. Lee and the old Baron of Vernon Hall in different ways resemble to the state of the state him; Fielding has chosen to give us the brutal and vulgar sportsman Squire Western, but not the more attractive picture.

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however, good hunting songs in English -"John Peel" and many another -in which the note of a character may be caught. In these days of anthologies, why does no publisher give us an anthology of hunting songs?

The ideal of a sportsman must always remain a minor ideal. Perhaps the best thing that may be said for it is that it has set something tangible before the eyes of our leisured aristocracy, who cannot all be statesmen. I will not undertake to judge it in the light of the highest principles. Certainly its canons of right conduct are not much guide in the great and real conflicts of the world; and they are apt to look feeble when introduced into these spheres, as Englishmen some-However, they always tend to generosity. times introduce them.

We may dwell for a moment on one question-whether sport tends to make men cruel. I will not ask whether sport involves pain to animals—it obviously does so. But we must remember that it is a principle of the true sportsman to face pain himself; if he yields to the temptation to make sport luxurious, he knows in his heart that he is banishing the real spirit of his occupation. This, it seems to me, ought fairly to be held by men of every view to make the painful aspect of sport less offensive. The practical question is, whether sport makes men more cruel than they would be in the same station and amid the same surroundings if they abstained from it. In one sense the answer is certainly in the negative; within civilised times sport has never meant a pleasure in giving pain, Cruelty, however, is 10f two kinds, ferocious and callous, and there is no doubt that sportsmen are constantly tempted to grow indifferent to pain. They have certainly overcome this temptation in a remarkable degree; it is, as everybody knows, a maxim of the true sportsman to avoid unnecessary pain, to make the death of his victim as painless as possible, not to fire unless he believes he can really kill, and so on. This principle has partly been imposed on sportsmen by the common sentiment of mankind, and partly has arisen out of the particular sentiment of sport, which long ago learned to regard its antagonists with respect, one might even say with sympathy. It cannot, however, be absolutely relied upon, under the pressure of excitement and other causes, and there is more callous cruelty practised under the name of sport than sportsmen like to admit. Against this we have to put the fact that sport has encouraged sympathy between man and certain animals that assist him in his amusement. In England, for instance, there is no doubt that the general feeling against cruelty to horses is largely the creation of sport.

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I believe no one could deny the assertion that the run of come sportsmen in England have always in modern times been conspicute kind to domestic animals.

The future of sport is uncertain. It is threatened in different Wild game being nearly extinct in Europe, sport mostly relies on served game; and the conditions under which preserved game is her tend to become so comfortable as to make sport merely a matter skill, as pheasant shooting nowadays is. It seems doubtful if pu sentiment will permit the existence of a mere game which invo much slaughter and at least some cruelty. There is little to be said for As for big game shooting, sportsmen have largely themselves to the for the shrunken opportunities of enjoying it; and the history of decline shows how easily sportsmen have forgotten their own principal For the best type of sportsman has always been averse to waste; has always held that wanton devastation goes beyond the limits legitimate sport, even though the other conditions of sport are: broken. But if any one wants to see what some sportsmen have be capable of, let him look up the records in Jerdon's "Indian Gr Birds," under "Sandgrouse" for example, or count up in Oswell's the number of hippopotamuses he shot in Africa. Such numbers : both painful and astonishing.

Sportsmanlike feeling will always have its opening in games. may distinguish them in many ways from sport. They are by one mere diversions, without the underlying usefulness of sport; they (until very lately) of much less consequence in everybody's esteem they involve more skill than courage or endurance, though these ments are not altogether wanting in them. Perhaps we may sums their growing importance is partly due to the lessening opportunities field sports in England. There is no need to repeat here what has be so often said lately about their value in developing character, more important to note the cult of games has recently taken at which threatens sportsmanlike feeling, in the introduction of reco and championships. These have created a feverish excitement of the mere fact of victory which is alien to the true genius of sport. is even more offensive, when we reflect that sport and games occupations altogether a culture with the sport and games occupants. altogether a subordinate position in the scheme of life; if victorisi this sphere usurp the first place in people's thoughts there is so thing going wrong with public opinion. To dwell upon this, hower would be to strike would be to strike a deeper note than is intended in this paper enough to say that enough to say that people have forgotten what sport is, if they

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One should not close the subject of field sports without adding a few words on the many interests they have indirectly created and the warmth of human feeling they have often called forth. They have fostered much love and observation of nature, They have brought together people of different classes in a common interest; and among men of the same class they have brought into existence a vast amount of good fellowship and sympathy. Of course, there are other ways of awakening these things, but the critics of sport, looking at facts as they are, ought not to deny that sport as a whole attracts the best sportsmen largely because of the opportunities it offers for intercourse, and because of the sentiment which is created in men by the recollection of labours and perils shared together.

J. NELSON FRASER.

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THE ORDER OF THE COIF.*

THE ancient Order of the Coif may be said to have died a quie death, although there are a few members of it still alive notable among them being Lord Lindley, now Privy Councillor at Lord of Appeal, and Lord Field. One of the latest to depart from this world was Sergeant Spinks who, like many other lawyers "called to the Coif," rose no higher than attaining to the degree of Sergeant-at-Law. The few who were privileged to wear the Coif, at the beginning of the Victorian era, shone only in the twilight of its glory. The unique same which surrounded this Order for more than ten centuries was even then fast fading away. The Coif was dealt a cruel blow as far back as in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; for it was in 1604 that another powerful Order, that of the King's Counsel, which survives its older rival, had its first beginnings. But though it was eventually replaced by the King's Counsel, the Coif fought valiantly, heroically, and if it has in gered until this day, it is because of its long and memorable careed For there was, perhaps, no other legal institution which had a more intimate association with the history of English Law, and a harder struggle for existence, or a more brilliant, if also chequered, career, that that of the Coif. Certainly, there was no other that was legally recognized nised even before the establishment of the oldest English tribunal. history of the Coif is, in a large measure, the history of early English laws and institutions, a history of which the Sergeant at Law was justly proud. He played a most important part in the making of that history, and contributed largely towards the stability and solidity of English jurisprudence. There was a time when not only all the greater judicial offices were filled from the institution of the College was a robbed to the College was a but many a noble house was established by members belonging to this Order. Less there Order. Less than a century ago, the history of the Coif constituted that of the Bonch that of the Bench and Bar in England. One peculiar characteristic disti that Crov rank supe lear Cour a pro to su

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^{*} A paper read before the Bombay High Court Moot on January 21st, 1904.

distinguished it from the later institution of King's Counsel, namely, that it was essentially popular, and not subject to the control of the Crown. For a Sergeanty was really a law-degree, and implied superior rank: the rank of King's Counsel is a Crown appointment, and implies superior business aptitude. In the old days of comparative leisure learning went for something; and the Sergeant in the Common Law Courts, and the Doctor in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty courts, held a pre-eminent position. Now, however, it is smartness and tact that lead to success; and the business qualities that enable counsel to gauge the personalities of judges and juries, and so to win cases, are fitly recognised by the bestowal of the official hall-mark of K. C.

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From the earliest times, voluntary associations or societies of lawvers existed, formed more or less on the model of the monastic institutions which prospered when, originally, ecclesiastics practised as advocates in all the secular civil courts. Besides these, there were guilds, the most famous of which are the four Inns of Court, supposed to be the sole surviving remnants of a great legal University which once existed in England, and of whose actual existence Fortescue, Stone and Coke have given us evidence. The proud Sergeants had, of course, their separate "hostels." There were at one time three such Inns or "hostels," viz., Scrope's Inn in Holborn, Sergeant's Inn in Fleet Street, and Farringdon Inn in Chancery Lane, the last being afterwards known as the Sergeant's Inn, and wa the latest to survive. these Inns were then located near the four Inns of Court, and were in close touch with one another. Unlike the Inns of Court, where lawstudents were not only taught but also housed, these Sergeants' "hostels" were very modest, unpretentious buildings, having but limited accommodation, and were rented or taken on lease. No authoritative history of the various Inns where Sergeants-at-Law dined and revelled together exists, though some interesting fragments are to be found in Pulling's excellent account of the Sergeants and their Inns. As the Order of the Coif lost much of its glory and was divested of many of its privileges, the less important Inns also wasted away. Scrope's Inn in Fleet Street was given up by its patrons in 1730. A time-worn tablet which may yet be seen in one of the bye-lanes on the Temple side of Fleet Street, is the only relic of this Inn. But the Sergeant's Inn, the one in Chancery Lane, resented such a summary and ignominious extinction. Like a faithful old nurse, it did not like to desert its children. It fought hard and long, and shared all the privations and humiliations that fell to the lot of the Sergeant-at-law.

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The Sergeant's Inn was a voluntary association, like any other private club, and was entirely supported by funds derived from private sources, which at times brought in an income of nearly £2,000 a year But in spite of this, it was found difficult to keep it up. Time work havoc with it, and the legislators did the rest. The Sergeant's Innh. an ancient but not very picturesque hall, a remarkably handsome ding room, spacious kitchens and cellars, and other conveniences adapted an ordinary club-house. On ordinary occasions the Sergeants dinedin the small banqueting-room, which must have presented an imposiappearance, with portraits of ancient and modern judges and other "ermined sages" hung around it, and a double row of separate panel "on which were ranged the coat-of-arms of every Sergeant that he been created for the last one hundred and fifty years." The Sergeans at-Law also possessed that historic piece of furniture, yelept "the round table," around which they used to dine and otherwise make themselve merry after the hour of "counting." The great hall itself was used by twice every term, when the Sergeants indulged in extravagant symposis On these occasions, the modest little hall was a sight worth seeing when the highest in the land in every walk of life dined with the men bers of the Coif. On term-nights, even the clerks of Sergeants-at-Lai dined with their masters at the Inn, a curious survival of the ancies custom of the retainers of a household, seated below the salt, taking their meals at the same table with their chief and his family. Wha S ergeant's Inn was sold, and its property divided among its membersa proceeding which, in the opinion of some, was but poor result of "the wisdom of an heep of lernede men"-all the beautiful portraits that were hung round the banqueting-room were presented to the South Kensington Museum, and the coats-of-arms were given away to those who asked for the shields of their ancestors.

The long-defunct Sergeant's Inn was surrounded with a halo allie own. Every year its members received an invitation to dine at the Lord Mayor's banquet on the historic date, November 9th—a priviles which they dearly cherished. The sight on this occasion was unique the magnificence of dresses, the style of the entertainment, the rank the guests, and the grandeur of the hall in which they assembled rendering it "one of the greatest scenes exhibited throughout the Empire Little wonder, then, that the extinction of such a picturesque Order been regarded with sincere regret. There are few pages in Sergeal Robinson's delightful reminiscences of Bench and Bar which tell a more pathetic tale of fallen greatness than that which narrates the sales

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a mor e sale Sergeant's Inn, and the division of the proceeds and property among its members. "Sergeant's Inn thought it expedient," says Mr. Robinson, "to subject itself to deliberate suicide lest a worse fate might befall it." According to another distinguished member of the Coif, Sergeant Ballantyne,† the destruction of this Order was carried out with thoughtlessness, and without such formalities as dealing with so ancient an institution deserved.";

Sergeant Pulling wrote a most interesting obituary notice on this institution as far back as in 1877, for even then the glory surrounding this Order was fast fading away. Sergeant Robinson prophesied in his Reminiscences of One of the Last of an Ancient Race that before long, there would exist no living representative of the Coif. "If anyone of the few," added he, " that remains of us succeeds in getting into the next century, he will deserve great credit for perseverance and tenacity." That credit belongs to the still fresh and evergreen Lord Lindley, who shares it with Lord Field, and a very few brother-sergeants, mostly, perhaps, in Ireland. With them will fade away for ever the glimmering twilight which surrounds the Coif at the present day. It exists only in name. It is no longer a living, breathing thing, but lies cold and stiff amongst the ancient institutions and antiquated customs which fill the Law's Lumber Room. And since it is practically extinct, it deserves to be honoured in death as it was undoubtedly honoured during its long and chequered career, extending over more than a thousand years.

What is a Sergeant-at-Law? This is a question few can satisfactorily answer. It seems almost incredible that the mystery surrounding the Order of the Coif was not dispelled during the thousand years through which it held its own, "spite of feudal thraldom, priestly device and professional chicanery." There can be no doubt, however, that the Order has still the mysterious haze around it with which it was shrouded during its long existence. The only human analogy that the uninitiated can discover in the Sergeant-at-Law is afforded by his name, which reminds one of that important and imposing personage in the body militant and in the police, viz., the Sergeant. The mediæval lawyer's picturesque dress, including his distinctive badge of honour, the Coif, only made the confusion worse confounded. Ballantyne is responsible for the story that when he, with other

[†] Sergeant Ballantyne came out to India in February, 1875, as Counsel for the Defence in the memorable trial of Mulhar Rao, Gaekwar of Baroda.

† "Some Experiences of a Barrister's Life." By Sergeant Ballantyne.

members of the Sergeant's Inn, went to dine at the Guildhall with the Lord Mayor and other city magnates, he was received by the converted with immense delight and applause under the mistaken impression to the was an Alderman!

Let us try to remove the veil of mystery that shrouds this order and trace its history from its remote beginnings. The earliest mention of the servientes ad legem is said to be found in the "Mirrour of Justice" the earliest English law-book, where they are spoken of as bar narratores. But to gain a footing on less slippery ground we refer to the records of the reign of William the Conqueror. Under feudal system, as every student of English history knows, land we held from the Crown upon various tenures, and, as often happened to immediate holder of land was required to perform certain personal services to the King. These land-holders were thence calle Servientes or Sergeants, holding under the tenure of Sergeant Sergeants of this kind had sometimes, in the performance of the service, to deal with the administration of justice. A Coroner or keeper of the peace held a plot of land just because he happened to be a Coroner or the like, and over and above the produce of the land, be quietly pocketed the fees of his office. A little later, certain legs offices were held entirely free of land, and their holders were eventually paid in fees. These officers were still regarded as servientes, and were supposed to hold their office in virtue of a Sergeanty in gross, just 251 right of pasturage, which is not annexed to a particular plot of later than the particular plot of later tha is termed a profit in gross. Now about this time (that is to si after the Conquest) there were two distinct court languages. VIL Latin, in which all the records of the law-courts were kept, and Norman-French, in which all pleadings were heard and discussed. 10 the ignorant, thick-headed Saxon, this was a veritable Babel languages. He was, therefore, obliged, when necessity drove him to invoke the King's justice, to employ a man well versed in these tongues or rather one who was skilled in conter, as the pleadings were the called. And as the demand for these skilled counters must then have been greater than the supply, the business of counting became ver lucrative. The Crown from time immemorial has been noted for it zeal to increase its own revenue; and on this occasion, its power perception did not fail. For it lost no time in appointing services ad legem and regulation ad legem and regulating the business of counting. Such was the way; which the famous Order to a counting. which the famous Order of Sergeants-at-Law was created, an order which till comparatively which till comparatively recent times, marked the highest rank at the

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Bar, socially as well as professionally, and which counted among it members men like Edmund Plowden (1518-1585), William Bendloes (1516-1584), and Sergeants Parry and Ballantyne, and speaking of our own times, such eminent lawyers as Esher, Pollock and Lindley.

The title of "Sergeant Counter" denoted that the holder of it was under a sworn obligation to be to all the King's people serviens ad legem. This became a very general term when Westminster Hall came to be the only source from which the stream of law flowed through the land, and when the Sergeants-at-Law were alone entitled to "count." In course of time, the King felt the want of a Sergeant-at-Law who could always be at his service as legal adviser. Hence it was that a serviens regis ad legem was appointed—a post which was filled by eminent lawyers, and which carried with it great dignity and splendid emoluments. The Sergeant-at-Law was appointed by a writ under the Great Seal, whereas the King's Sergeant was commanded to take office by Letters Patent. The former offered his services to all: the latter served only one master. The King's Sergeant was at the head of the law in every country, judging and determining all suits and controversies between the people within the district, in conjunction with the Sheriff. With respect to criminal offences, we have it on Bracton's authority that the King's Sergeant then played the rôle of the public prosecutor. No King's Sergeants have been appointed since 1857, when Sergeants Channell, Shee and Wrangham were selected for this high position. But although the King's Sergeant was despatched to the Law's Lumber Room long before the less exalted Sergeant-at-Law, and is now as extinct as the dodo, still, even at the present day, he is almost reverentially mentioned, in the public proclamation, read at the opening of certain Courts of Law. The proclamation, which the crier mumbles at the commencement of every sessions, is interesting enough to bear quotation in full: therein His Majesty, on an arraignment of prisoners, calls on "anyone who can inform my Lords, the King's justices, the King's Sergeant, or the King's Attorney-General, of any treasons, murders, felonies, or misdemeanours done or committed by the prisoners at the bar or any of them, let him come forth, and he shall be heard, for the prisoners now stand upon their deliverance." Such is the tenacity of time-honoured institutions! Ancient Orders die hard, if they die at all, and the twilight of their past glory lingers long after their extinction. And we may be sure that as long as this old custom is observed, so long will the King's Sergeant live, though it may be merely in legal fiction. "As full of fiction as the English

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Law," wrote Macaulay early in the last century; and Macaulay evidently knew what he meant.

The King's Sergeant advised the Sovereign not only all matters legal, but also as to the proceedings of Parliame During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, writs of summy were actually sent to certain Sergeants-at-Law to attend Parliane and survey the statutes requiring amendment. Sergeant Manning in able report on "Serviens ad legem," gives instances in which note the King's Sergeants but other Sergeants-at-Law as well were moned to aid in the deliberations of the Legislature. Many of most distinguished members of Parliament, who figure in the historn St. Stephen's during the reigns of Edward VI., Queen Elizabeth James I., belonged to this institution, which was then very popular, among its members there were some of the most erudite lawyers a legislators, subtle judges and powerful advocates of the day. It Speaker's chair was then generally filled by a Sergeant-at-Law. It Great Seal, which had previously been entrusted to churchmen, we during and long after Queen Elizabeth's reign, given to members oft Coif. And although this unique honour was not very long enjoyed the Sergeants-at-Law-for, in more recent times, the Lord Chancell was usually chosen from the Chancery Bar-it speaks volumes for # learning and popularity of this illustrious body of lawyers that me like Sergeant Copley (as Lord Lyndhurst) and Sergeant Wilde Lord Truro) should have occupied the Woolsack.

In olden times, the ecclesiastical element was predominant almost every profession : and it was not until the reign of Edward that the legal profession had a recognised status, and the professors. the common law became a body of some importance. Provision then made for the maintenance of legal practitioners, and several metabors of the Conference of the Co bers of the Coif were then empowered to act as attorneys and pleader The number of these increased in time, and for convenience sake, the early lawyers used to assemble in what were then known; "hostels." These modest "hostels" developed in time into and comfortable Inns, to each of which were assigned powers confer degrees to its students, "learned in the law," who then allowed to plead, after some formalities had been attended to. There were these in the law, "attended to be the law," attended to be the law, "attended to be the law, "attended to be the law," attended to be the law, "attended to be the law, "attended to be the law, "attended to be the law," attended to be the law, "attended to be the law," attended to be the law, "attended to be the law," attended to be the law, "attended to be the law," attended to be the law, a to. There were three distinct stages which a law-student had go through before he could aspire to the covete Sergeant-at-Law. This has been succinctly explained by Pulling thus:—"The Leave County of the covete Sergeant-at-Law. Pulling thus:—"The Inns of Court had, first, their students or mooth

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Sergei mootni who formed the crowd under the bar, sometimes denominated 'utter barristers'; secondly, the more advanced apprentices of the law, chosen after eight years' studentship to plead and argue 'moot-points' in hall, and 'called to the bar' there, and from that time designated 'utter barristers,' sitting uttermost on the bars or forms in hall; thirdly, the readers or benchers, selected from the 'utter barristers' of twelve years' standing, from whom, in due time, the Sergeants were chosen." Though an 'utter barrister' might have put in his full term of apprenticeship and been duly 'called to the bar,' it sometimes happened that he was not allowed to appear in court as "counter." In fact, at one time, no one below the rank of Sergeant-at-Law had any right to practise in the courts without the permission of the judges; so that an 'utter barrister,' though he might be learned in his profession, could not "count." Barristers were obliged to put in at least sixteen years from the time of their "call" till their attainment to the rank of Sergeant-at-Law. But in more recent times we find that no limit of time was fixed for this qualification. At the present day, the King's Counsel must be a barrister of at least ten years' standing at the bar, before he can be appointed one of His Majesty's Counsel. This has always been a sine qua non, though it is worthy of notice here that Lord Erskine took silk after only five years' practice at the bar.

Let us now see how an 'utter barrister' was created a Sergeantat-Law, and briefly describe some of the formalities that were once observed on his call to the Coif. It is not easy to say what the exact procedure was when the Order was first instituted. Much is lost in antiquity again, though some traces of it may still be found lying buried deep under the dust of the Law's Lumber Room. Let us, however, see what light antiquarians throw on this point. Fortesque tells us that the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, by and with the advice and consent of all the judges, used "to pitch upon seven or eight discreeter persons, such as have made the greatest proficiency in the general study of the laws, and whom they judge best qualified for the purpose. The manner is to deliver their names in writing to the Lord Chancellor in England who, by virtue of the King's writ, shall forthwith command everyone of the persons so pitched upon, that he be before the King at a day certain to take upon him the state and degree of a Sergeant-at-Law." From this it would seem that the barrister, in old times, did not ask for the promotion himself. The honour came to him, and was offered by the King, through the Lord Chancellor. Like the modern shrievalty, when once offered, it could not be refused

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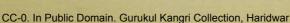
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by the person "pitched upon." It was a command, and not metel offer open to acceptance or refusal. Once the 'utter barrister's given the Coif to wear, he was obliged to put it on all his life—and gation the Sergeant-at-Law did not find irksome in the least—could he doff it without the special permission of the Crown. In sixteenth century a slightly different method of creating Serges was resorted to. Dugdale describes a call to the Coif which took in 1577. As the demand for the Sergeant-at-Law was then great than the supply, the judges all joined in naming twelve of the learned and able of the 'utter barristers,' and their names being win in a bill, and sent to Queen Elizabeth, "Her Grace did electer pricke seven of them," who were duly elected Sergeants-at-Law.

Mr. Francis Watt, who has made a careful study of all "discarded methods" by personal researches in the cold depths of Law's Lumber Room, gives another interesting account of the cerem In the second volume of his delightful essays,* which reveal in rare glimpses of other days, Mr. Watt says :- "The Judges, her by the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, picked out certain emiz barristers as worthy of the dignity, their names were given into: Lord Chancellor, and in due time, each had his writ, whereof formally gave his Inn notice. His House entertained him at put breakfast, presenting him with a gold or silver net purse with guineas or so as retaining fee, the chapel bell was tolled, and her solemnly rung out of the bounds. On the day of his call, he harangued (often at preposterous length) by the Chief Justice del Common Pleas; he knelt down, and the white Coif of the Orders fitted on his head; he went in procession to Westminster and 'country in a real action in the Court of Common Pleas." The next s which a newly-appointed Sergeant-at-Law took was to become member of the mess at Sergeant's Inn. On being duly elected the he had to pay an entrance fee of three hundred and fifty pounds; by he was elected a Judicial Sergeant, i.e., created Sergeant-at-Law a view to his promotion to the Bench, he had to pay no less a sum five hundred pounds. This seems a very large sum indeed, especially the seems as very large sum indeed, especially the so when the value of money in former days is considered, but the had its price commensurate with the great dignity that attached to those days.



^{*} The Law's Lumber Room (Second Series) by Mr. Francis Watt. John Law. Bodley Head, London and New York.

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Quaint were the ceremonies and curious were some of the formalities that were observed on the appointment of a Sergeant-at-Law. Up to the time of the Reformation, Pulling says that "religious ceremonies were also mixed up with the legal forms and the festive observances." Till then, one of the seven days, during which these festivities lasted, was set apart for services in the Abbey or the Cathedral. The feast given by the newly-created Sergeant in honour of the occasion was, indeed, a grand affair. Those good old days were evidently meant, not for fasting, but wild feasting and merry-making. Some of these congratulatory dinners were truly Gargantuan banquets: and the days on which they were held were considered, among lawyers as quasi-public holidays. "The ordinary business of the Courts at Westminster," says Pulling, "was suspended, the judges and members of the Order of the Coif, the benchers and apprentices of the Inns of Court, the ancients and members of the Inns of Chancery, with the high officers of State, and even the Sovereign and members of the Royal Family, nobles and bishops, and the Lord Mayor and the city officials, mustered in force to mark the occasion of a new creation of members of the Order entrusted with the great work of administering the law." Dugdale describes a Sergeant's feast which was held at Lambeth Palace in November, 1504, when (to quote his words), "dined the King and all his nobles, and upon the same day Thomas Granger, newly-chosen Shireeve of London, was presented before the Barons of the King's Exchequer then to take his oath, and after went with the Mayor unto the same feast, which saved him in his purse; for if that day the feast had not been kept, he must have feasted the Mayor, aldermen and other worshipful of the City." Mr. Sheriff Granger is to be heartily congratulated on his good luck, "which saved him in his purse"! Later on, each Sergeant brought with him to the feast "three gentlemen selected by him from among the members of his own Inn to act as his server, his carver and his cup-bearer, which, no doubt, materially helped to swell the list of guests at the banquet. If the members of the Coif always invited the Lord Mayor, aldermen and other City magnates at the feast, the authorities at the Guildhall were hy no means slow in extending their sumptuous hospitality to the Sergeants-at-Law. This interchange of civilities, which strengthened the cordial relations of the City magnate and the Sergeant-at-Law more than anything else, was kept up on both sides till a very late period. Not only were the members of the Coif invited at the Guildhall, but, on Lord Mayor's day and on other occasions of great importance and

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solemnity, these were his most honoured guests, and were actual escorted "by the Corporation officers on their State attendance at Paul's on the first Sunday in Trinity Term." This was a time-honour privilege which the Sergeant-at-Law never failed to enjoy till by Judicature Act dealt a fatal blow to the Order. But in a more prose age these festivities were cut down to one day only. Even the one-day feasts were, in the last century, "more honoured in the breach than in the observance," and they were finally discontinuation 1758.

At these banquets the merry Sergeants ate and drank, not le lawyers, but like men of the world. They discussed not politics, to vet law, but dined heartily and talked merrily. After dinner they eve indulged in a little dancing, which was one of the favourite amusement of the old lawyers. Not only were the students instructed in lea knowledge at the Inns of Court, but each Inn had, at one time, a academy of its own where singing, dancing and music were taugh Pope speaks, in the Dunciad, of "the judge to dance his brotte Sergeant calls "- no doubt alluding to the quaint old custom which was observed at the Inns on certain occasions when judges joined hard with Sergeants and other lawyers, and danced round the fireplace's the hall of their lnn. In what an intensely amusing light does the picture of the members of the Coif and other legal dignitaries dancing and singing round the fireplace strike us in this prosaic age of our To those jovial lawyers, however, dancing seemed to have been a essential part of their legal training. Pictures of sobriety and dignity court, they were the merriest of folk in the banqueting hall Sergeant Wynne describes one of these occasions thus:-"After dimet a large ring was formed round the fireplace, emptied for the occasion of fire and embers. Then the Master of the Rolls, who went in first took Mr. Justice Page, who joined to the other judges, Sergeants and benchers present, and they all danced, or rather walked, round about the coal-fire specialists the coal-fire, according to the old ceremony, three times, during white they were aided in the figure of the dance by the Prothonotary. confess we should like to see (if only in the pages of the Punch, the pages of picture to be drawn by the inimitable "E. T. R." Lord Halshill leading, say, Mr. Justice Bruce, by the hand, aided in the dance by Robert Reid! The Lord Chancellor in "Iolanthe" dances, but not such select company to The such select company! The gay scene in which Gilbert's whimsically was anticipated in roal life. was anticipated in real life was witnessed, Wynne adds, by the print of Wales and a large series witnessed. of Wales and a large company. Besides indulging in these terpsiches



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rean revels, the merry Sergeants were very fond of theatrical performances. Many of our early dramatists were connected with the legal profession, among them being Beaumont, Ford, Congreve, Rowe. and Fielding. Shakespeare's dramas were often played by members of the various Inns, and Gray's Inn was noted for its plays and performances, and was praised by Queen Elizabeth as "an house she was much indebted to, for it always studied for some sports to present to her." The Masque, which was introduced into the country in the early part of Henry VII.'s reign, seems to have been the most popular form of entertainment at the Inns of Court. Some of these masques had, at one time, no rival in the splendour and gorgeousness with which they were presented at the lawyers' University. There is on record one exceptionally magnificent masque presented at Gray's Inn on Candlemas night in 1633, in honour of the birth of the Duke of York, by the four Inns of Court combined, which cost the societies no less than £21.000. The Sergeants, like other lawyers, freely took part in these entertainments.

If the Coif brought the Sergeant many privileges it also taxed his purse sorely at his call to the higher degree. For, besides lavishly providing for a feast on his appointment, he had not only to give gold rings to the Sovereign, the Lord Chancellor, the judges and many other minor officers of the courts, but also present his relations and friends with rich liveries—a custom which fell into disuse in 1759. But the ring-giving fashion prospered till recent times. The ring was not merely a complimentary gift: it was at one time regarded as a legal obligation imposed upon every newly-appointed Sergeant-an obligation which made rather a big hole in his pocket. A good instance is recorded of what this custom cost the Sergeant. In the ninth of George II., the fourteen new Sergeants gave, as in duty bound, rings valued at £773. "That call" adds the chronicler, "cost each Sergeant nearly £200." We may be sure that these Sergeants-at-Law raised no objection to some of the more expensive and unnecessary customs being put an end to, nineteen years later! The style and weight of these rings varied from age to age. Formerly, they were of massive gold, and the judges were rather particular that they should be of the proper weight and material. One of the old law-reports records an instance where some of the learned judges regarded with great disfavour the deficiency in weight of the rings presented to them at a call of Sergeants. The Sovereign's ring was, naturally, the weightiest of all, "nearly an inch long with enamel in the middle and massive gold ends," whilst the

usher's ring was a sort of "hoop of no much greater breadth the curtain-ring and about one-tenth of its thickness." The "colored who attended the generally a young professional friend who attended the new Serges on being sworn in before the Lord Chancellor, presented the Sovereign ring to the Chancellor, requesting him to beg His or Her Majesh acceptance of the same in the name of his principal, gave another the Lord Chancellor for his own acceptance, and quietly pocket the third himself. It is not certain if, before the fifteenth century simple rings were given, or rings each bearing the Sergeant's moth but, about the time of Elizabeth, "posies" were engraved thered consisting of a few words, flattering to the Sovereign, or tickling the Lord Chancellor's fancy. It is curious how lawyers, in the time of Charles I., chose mottoes which embodied sentiments exalting the King's pres gative, such as "Lex regis vis legis." Generally, each Sergeant had E own device, but sometimes the whole "call" adopted the same moin These "posies" were often very pretty and wittily devised. For instanz the famous lawyer, Jeffreys, on his call to the Coif, took for his moth "A Deo rex a rege lex." In this connection, Mr. Montague William relates a good story of a barrister * who had enjoyed at one time considerable practice at the Old Bailey. Upon his elevation to the Coif from the ordinary bar, this eminent lawyer selected for himse the motto, Ex sese. Some legal wag, hearing of this. observed: is a pity he tells only two-thirds of the truth. His motto ought have been 'Ex C. C. C.'—that is to say, 'from the Central Crimits' Court.'"† Perhaps the happiest motto was that selected by Sergeants who were called to the Coif in 1842, after Lord Broughand neffectual attempt to put an end to the Order, viz., Honor nomination manebunt; this "call" included lawyers like Sergeants Manufe Channell, Shee and Wrangham.

Several important privileges belonged to this "degenerate race Order just as a f Order, just as a few are enjoyed to-day by the King's Counsel of We have his less exalted professional brother, the "utter" barrister. We have already seen that the Sergeant-at-Law was almost the only lawyer any note who "construction of the older any note who "counted" even before the existence of the old English tribunal research and the sergeant-at-Law was almost the only law and the sergeant-at-Law was almost the sergeant-at-Law was alm English tribunal now extant. He always had the right of preeminence until a comparatively recent date. Another highly-cheristic privilege of the Sarge had at or privilege of the Sergeant-at-Law was that all the judges had, at or * Sergeant Date:

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^{*} Sergeant Robinson.

^{† &}quot;Later Leaves," by Mr. Montague Williams, p. 42.

time, been chosen from those of his rank and title. It was for this reason that the Sergeant was addressed as "you" and also as "brother" from the bench. In former times, when people were less refined, "thou," was more generally used than "you," and nobody felt the worse for it. But because the judge and the Sergeant-at-Law were of the same rank professionally, it must not be supposed that the latter took the same liberty with the former, either in or out of the court. judge was addressed in court as "my Lord" and in private simply as "judge." Socially also, the Sergeant-at-Law had a distinct position, and ranked next after the Knights-bachelors, but before even the King's Counsel. In fact, the King's Counsel seems to have had no position out of court, though, speaking professionally, he stood above the Sergeant, unless, of course, the latter was a serviens regis ad legem, or held patent of precedence. Even the wives of Sergeants-at-Law, unlike those of bishops and privy councillors, had a distinct rank in society, and came after the wives of Knights-bachelors.

But the privilege which the Sergeant of those "good old times" regarded with peculiar jealousy, and enjoyed most, was the exclusive right of audience in the Court of Common Pleas during term. They had, in fact, a sort of monopoly of practice in that Court (which had as chequered a career as the Order of the Coif itself), rigidly excluding all those barristers who were only apprenticii ad legem. To us, this seems an extraordinary privilege, constituting, as it did, a violation of the Magna Charta, as well as an infringement of the Constitution. It was certainly a very narrow-minded policy adopted by the Sergeant-at-Law in not having yielded to the abolition of this monopoly, in spite of repeated protests and almost universal condemnation. The Order might have been rejuvenated, if only this privilege had been extended to others; for, in Pulling's words, "it would have been much wiser for the Sergeants-at-Law to have surrendered with a good grace any monopoly they possessed, rather than to have stood out against any change, and end with something very like the total sacrifice of their ancient position." Another indirect and evil result of this exclusive right of practice in the Court of Common Pleas was that, as the Sergeant-at-Law was too busy in his privileged court to attend to business of other courts, there grew up in time a regular bar at these courts. So that another monopoly on a smaller scale arose out of the Sergeant's monopoly. Not only did the Sergeants form the bar of the Court of Common Pleas, the highest court of civil jurisdiction in the realm, but they were, at one time, an integral part of the Court itself. The Judicature Act of 1873 put an

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end to the Court of Common Pleas. But before this court Wask patched to the Lumber Room, several attempts were made to the it open to the whole profession. The Order of the Coif was suppose and rightly too—to stand in the way of "free trade," and others yers naturally felt the gross injustice that was done to them. To John Wills belongs the credit of first making the daring but fair posal that the Court of Common Pleas should be thrown open to: and although nothing came of his suggestion, it brought to light great hardship to other lawyers. This was suggested so far back in the year 1755. Seventy-five years later, when the famous L Brougham came into power, a similar proposal was again brough forward: but the Common Law Commissioners decided against It seems almost incredible that in the enlightened century we have just left behind, such a monopoly should have found favour & with those who did not profit by it. Again, early in 1834, a Billy unsuccessfully drawn up for the purpose of giving to the whole h the right of practising, pleading, and audience in the Common Pla and this object was quietly attained by a Warrant under the Sp Manual on April 25th, 1834.

(To be concluded.)

PHIROZE. B. M. MALABARI.

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BARI.

By the year 2,000 A. D., Europe will be mistress in Asia—so writes Mr. Meredith Townsend, whose spacious theories and sweeping generalisations have put Buckle to shame.

We cannot readily acquiesce in a prediction so gloomy when the youngest of Asiatic States is not only engaged in a death-struggle with the hugest of European Powers, but has mauled it with a pluck, ability and determination which make Japan the pride of Asia, if not of all coloured mankind, Mr. Townsend, however, appeals to history, which has a law of uniformity of its own. The area of the greatest of continents is given by geographers as roughly 16 million square miles, and its population as 800 million souls. The possessions and dependencies of Great Britain occupy more than 1,855,000 square miles, with a population of about 300 millions; of Russia 6,555,000 square miles, with more than 22 millions of inhabitants. France claims only 256,000 square miles and a population exceeding 18 millions; the subjects of the United States number 8 millions and occupy areas aggregating 122,000 square miles; and the German district of Kiau-Chau covers 200 square miles, with a population of 60,000. These are the militant Powers of the world that claim a substantial interest in the eastern continent. Then comes Holland, of departed glory, owning the allegiance of 36 millions in territory extending over 736,400 square miles; and Portugal, of 941,000 people inhabiting 9,020 square miles of territory. Last, but not least, is Turkey, whose possessions in Asia cover 650,400 square miles, and which is supposed to govern more than 17 million people. Turkey, however, is on the defensive, and not on the aggressive, and does not fall within the purview of Mr. Townsend's prediction about the future of European Powers. Thus of 16 million square miles of Asiatic territory,

EAST & WEST

Europe owns or has mastery over 10 million square miles, and of 800 million souls she claims the allegiance, directly and indirectly that 404 millions. The rest of Asia is under really or nominally indep aggress dent Asiatic Governments, but the shadow of the white man has a lone over all, with perhaps the exception of Japan.

A somewhat larger portion of the continent would problem has no have already come under the sovereignty or suzerainty of Europee Sultar America, if the Powers were not actuated by mutual distrust of Pe could act in unison. For the present they are anxious to preserved land "integrity" of the Asiatic States that still retain their independed Range That expression has a technical meaning in Asiatic politics. It is south not correspond to any altruistic desire on the part of the West tola these the East unmolested in the enjoyment of its traditional isolate atten and independence. It means that the powers will not be conte part to make an apportionment of their acquisitions haphazard and atten a hurry, so as afterwards to repent at leisure that they might imiles made better bargains. They consider it expedient to bide to the (time, to squeeze out of the Asiatic Governments secret promises to ch inarticulate understandings, to create interests and spheres of it Lama ence, and eventually, when physical and moral consideration ment combine in effective solidarity, to secure the maximum is prevenue available in the circumstances. America is credited with a sinc nor desire to preserve the political integrity of Asia, and mainland attitude of "contemptuous guardianship" over the most popular wear parts of the continent, because the American has ample room settlement in his own hemisphere, and "he does not belief was sovereignty absolutely essential to trade." Nevertheless, he will nisin abandon his "dockyard and watchtower" in the Philippines, a please when all others make the best of their opportunities, the patient patients sympathy of comradeship will stimulate his cloyed appetite land—i. e., for the sovereignty of it. The United States and of Powers that are not Powers that are not encumbered with territories liable to attack for restless rivals, will consider the state of the state restless rivals will create for themselves large enough nuclei, for which railways can accomplish which railways can conveniently radiate, leading to the inevies territorial crystallisation around them. The struggle in their cases present mainly for commercial advantages. The position of Britain in the south control of the Britain in the south, and that of Japan in the east are very life. The waves of Russian The waves of Russian expansion have nearly corroded the barries



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that were supposed at one time to stand safe and solid against lly indep aggression from the north and the west. It is no longer the soldier alone that conquers, but even more truly the engineer; no longer the steel sword and the brass cannon, but the iron rail and the steam engine. German railway enterprise is active in Asia Minor though it has not yet sufficiently advanced to threaten the integrity of the Europea Sultan's Asiatic dominions. Great Britain patrols the southern coast distrust of Persia. Travellers have recommended the partition of that preservet land of lotus-eaters, Russia retaining the portion north of the Salt Range for her sphere of influence, and Great Britain retaining the es. It southern portion. The crystal may break along that axis one of Test to let these days, whether or not it will satisfy Russia. Meanwhile the nal isolat attention of the world has been drawn away and riveted in another be come part of the continent. Between Persia and Manchuria our azard and attention is for the present claimed most by Tibet. It lies a thousand might is miles away from the nearest Russian possession. But it is a part of o bide to the Chinese Empire, and any attempt on the part of Great Britain romiser to change the political relations between herself and the Land of the res of Lamas will be regarded—so runs the Russian threat—as an infringensideration ment of the integrity of the Celestial Empire. This does not mum prevent the Tsar from receiving deputations from the Dalai Lama, h a sind nor Dorjieff from setting up the Tibetans against their suzerain maintain and the British, and probably from arming them with Russian st populo weapons. The result of this anxiety on the part of the European ple room! Power to preserve the integrity of China was that the Wai-pu-wu not belief was reduced to the humble predicament of beseeching that "recoghe will nising the difficult position in which China has been placed by her obstinate and ignorant vassal, his Majesty's Government will be s, the pleased to enjoin upon the British Commissioner the exercise of pretite patience and forbearance, and assist the Amban in bringing the Tibetans to a just sense of their duties and responsibilities as good neighbours." With a vassal so troublesome and so amenable to foreign influence, the thin end of the wedge may be driven into the decrepit Empire at any time from the western side. In the north, not only has the evacuation of Manchuria by Russia been eir case is deferred, but one of the main causes of the present war is the refusal n of Gri of Russia to sign a convention with Japan, respecting the sovereignty ry differe of China over a province which she has repeatedly promised to he barri

evacuate. On the other hand, not only was Japan forbide Mussal occupy Liaotung in 1895, but it is now demanded that at territor zone should be established in Korea and that no part of that per and wo should be used by Japan for strategic purposes. The Japan wo demand did not go beyond equal opportunity for the comment presum industry of all nations in the Chinese and Korean Empires looks f territorial integrity being respected; the exclusive right of was no to give advice and assistance to Korea in the interests of reform modern good government; the liberty eventually to extend the kemovem railway into Southern Manchuria; and a recognition of k which, preponderating interests in Korea, which she may take inequal measures as may be necessary to protect. Thus victory meas to be fi Japan the satisfaction of giving advice and the advantage of fort it must places of strategic importance in the peninsula for self-defe it draw defeat would mean confinement within her insular limits unverif consequent stagnation and decay, if nothing worse. If that is story o Japan has to fare, what other country in Asia can hope to me match better fate? By her aptitude to adapt herself to new circumstal Our cer by her pluck and valour, her method and her patriotism, Japan of Euro proved herself to be a Western Power incarnated in the East (which is indeed tempted to think sometimes that the dividing line bein may co East and West in the direction of the rising sun is Longitude i can tell

The human mind is almost constitutionally incapable of in ing that anything mundane can be permanent, be it the life settled plant, an animal, or an Empire. It is understood as an axiom a time will come when Britain will no longer retain India. The In when and why it will be lost, no one has the remotest idea, by of the Government of the control is one of those events which, it seems, somehow or other happen. happen. One prophet has dimly seen through the mist of the come a Mongolian deluge sweeping over every part of Southern affect Western Asia; another has beheld a Tartar irruption. The the po is played out; the Persian finds his paradise in a book of verse; while is a jug of wine, if a Russian bank will advance him a loan to but voking latter. Mr. Townsend discards all far-fetched theories, and India representiment that the catastrophe in India will arrive either India visuality upseed to the country of the country of the catastrophe in India will arrive either India visuality upseed to the country of the c some totally unseen manner, or through a general insura country aided by a voluntary transfer of power from European to hands. "Whether the hands. "Whether the enemy is an internal one, as for example

Mussalman leader in the Deccan, or an external one, such as a Russian army or even an Afghan army, a defeat within our own territory or on our border would break the spell of our invincibility, at per and would be followed by a spontaneous and universal insurrection he jake led by the sepoys and armed police." A similar catastrophe is mmere presumably bound to occur in every part of Asia. The eye that npires looks forward to Messiahs and Mahdis, to Maitreyas and Kalkis, ht of was not peculiarly the gift of the ancients: it is also given to the f reson modern philosopher who measures the angles and the velocities of the the k movements of history and sees them converge towards far-off events of | which, to men of near vision, may appear fanciful. How else are the take inequalities of a world, sustained by a just and impartial Providence, ment to be filled up and made even? History is conceived as a dome: of fort it must rise, culminate and decline. Destiny ends where it begins: self-de it draws circles. What lends to the instinctive apprehension of an limits unverifiable doom the air of an inference drawn from history is the that is story of the rise of Japan. A Japanised Asia would be more than a pe to mt match for Europe. That process, however, will occupy centuries. Our century, it is expected, will only see the complete establishment , Japan of European supremacy. A renovation of the multifarious nations— East (which will not be consciously accelerated-under that supremacy ine bett may cover a period of which we have no present conception. Who itude scan tell how by that time the destiny of the habitable globe, with its e of impoal-burning and oxygen-breathing race of inhabitants, will be he life settled?

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But for the Russo-Japanese war, which is the engrossing topic of the hour, the Government of India's despatch on preferential tariffs would have formed one of the principal subjects

of the age of discussion in India at the present moment. It is not designed to The the position of discussion in England one way or the other : for the position of Lord Curzon's Government may be stated to be that while it would not willingly embark upon an aggressive policy, provoking a war of tariffs, for the sake of the paltry advantages which India might derive by joining England in a preferential arrangement, India would yet be able to take care of herself in the event of foreign insuffice countries differentiating against her as a part of the British Empire,

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when the rest of the Empire joins in the scheme. In other, if India is allowed the freedom to shape her policy according own interests, she will not encumber His Majesty's Govern and will not ask England to martyrise herself for the sake The Government of India have, though dependency. indirect yet in a suggestive manner, expressed their sense of justice which subordinates Indian interests to the will of Lance and Dundee merchants. A theoretical admission of India's in choose her line of action is only the foundation of a rational policy for India. Given that right, the question still remains to decide what is best for this dependency. In the self-gove colonies, the policy of the Government is determined by ther the people, and the will of the majority is capable of being tained by recognised constitutional methods. Here, the Govern may not agree with the people, as represented by the press and various articulate bodies that submit their views to Governme public questions, assuming that what appears to be the opinion majority is really such; and secondly, in case of a different opinion, the decision can only rest with the authorities England, who are open to the influence of Lancashire So long as England has to decide what is most conducive to prosperity of her dependency, she will naturally dictate W Indian Government the principles on which she herself Moreover, the Viceroys and the Financial Members of Government bring with them the economic doctrines which they have lear approve in their own country, and they can hardly be expected convert themselves to a new creed when they accept office in They may be free-traders, or fair-traders; they may belong to or other of the schools that are politically influential in their country, but they cannot be expected to go further. They come asked to see the little asked to see the be asked to carry out a new policy in India, unless the Government and the Indian people have agreed on the policy is the most profession is the most profitable to this country. At present there do seem to be any such agreement. The general opinion in supposed to be included. supposed to be in favour of protective duties on imports purpose of fostering in the suppose of fostering in the s purpose of fostering indigenous industries and national enterior Protectionism in India, however, is as yet based largely on mental, rather than mental, rather than economic, grounds. In other countries,

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other . ording t Govern sake d ough i nse of t of Lanca dia's ri rational mains elf-gove by they being a Govern press ati vernme piniond differen uthoritie shire Ti ducive to ictate to herself 1 Government ave lear e expecta fice in la pelong to in their They car s the la policy w iere does in Ind ports for

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tries, pr

tionism seeks to attract foreign capital and foreign skill to bring new industries into existence, in the hope that indigenous capital and enterprise might replace them in course of time. In India, protectionists are, as a rule, opposed to the introduction of foreign capital. It would not only be unreasonable, but scarcely possible for the British Government, or any Government, to discourage the influx of foreign capital into a country, when the industries of that country are protected by a high wall of tariffs. And when vested interests are created in favour of British capitalists, it would be futile to expect that these should not possess the ear of Government in the conduct of the financial administration. Sir Edward Law, therefore, rightly points out two of the dangers to which protectionism is subject: (1) that weak Governments accord it too freely and beyond the reasonable interests of protection against competition from foreign rivals, and thus encourage overproduction with its resulting industrial and financial crises; and (2) that protection may be accorded to industries for which local circumstances are by nature too unfavourable to permit of the growth of healthy business. If this is done under pressure from British capitalists, our nationalistic school of economists will be the first and the loudest to cry out that their last state is worse than the first. The Government cannot be expected to share these sentiments which pass for economics. If, therefore, we wish to have an independent fiscal policy for India, in which the Government and the people may concur—whatever that policy may be-and present a united front to Lancashire and Dundee, we must begin by abjuring the popular notion that whatever does good to the foreign capitalist spells injury to the native of the soil. The next step would be to find out those industries for which local circumstances are by nature favourable enough to permit of growth of healthy business. Mr. J. N. Tata, for example, has, at considerable expense to himself, investigated the conditions under which the iron industry may be expected to be successful. If such investigations lead to the hope that with a reasonable amount of protection, at the initial stage, the industry will ere long stand on its own legs, and will attain proportions justifying the burden thrown upon the consumer temporarily during the experimental stage, and if it can be a shipped and it can be a shipped and if it can be a shipped and it can be a ship if it can be shown that no Government aid of a less objectionable character than the imposition of a protective tariff will answer the 312

purpose, then the Government and the people may be able to see ye with regard to the course to be pursued. When the Government is backed up by the people, not on sentimental grounds after careful investigation on business principles of the question involved, we may expect the independence of the Government less assailable than at present, and its policy to be guided with regard to the interests of the people of this land.



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CURRENT EVENTS.

THE event of the most absorbing interest all the world over just now is the Russo-Japanese war. It did not arise immediately from any act of aggression, but from Russia's refusal to enter into a convention recognising certain rights of the Japanese in Korea. is, indeed, true that Russia continues in occupation of Manchuria, but an acknowledgment, which has since been made to other Cabinets, of the sovereignty of China would have been accepted as a removal of the grievance It is said that Russia has even taken aggressive action in Korean territory. But this would not have led to the war, if she had acknowledged Japan's predominant interests in that peninsula, with certain auxiliary rights. It is not exactly a hostile act, but a reasonably inferrible hostile intention that is being answered and justified from the cannon's mouth—and this shows that the Japanese take time by the forelock, as they have every need to. The Tsar maintains that whatever the general rule of International Law may be, Japan's conduct in opening fire without a declaration of war was, having regard to the character of the negotiations pending, a violation of that law and an act of treachery. It is, however, matched, and was necessitated, by the conduct of Russia in having delayed the settlement of the dispute with a view to perfect her preparations for war.

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The quick-witted Japanese realised their position early, made every preparation which their resources permitted, and caught their foe at a disadvantage. Like the Greeks of old and, we may add, the Britishers of to-day, though in these the trader has eclipsed the sailor, the Japanese are, by the configuration of their country, sailors to the manner born, and their insular position has made their navy an indispensable instrument of national defence. Admiral Togo at Port Arthur, and Admiral Uriu at Chemulpo, by their brilliant manœuvres have practically crippled the Russian navy. Port Arthur has, indeed, not yet been taken, and the daring attempt to block the

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harbour has not yet met with complete success; but the determent of the determent of the comparative merits of the comparative merits of the Russian and Japanese soldiery. Russian officers have a hopinion of the bravery and venturesomeness of the Japanese infant but do not seem to think much of their cavalry. Anyhow, the determinant of the genius of the Japanese has discovered the metavourable moment for success to their arms. As between the and Japan, the Queen of the East stands up for civilisation; against Russia, she stands up for political rectitude; as against aggressive West, she represents the worm that will turn. She deserved our best wishes, and in her victory we shall recognise triumph of all that we hold sacred in the political morality of nation

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It has often been observed that the Briton is lacking imagination, and he sees only what lies straight before his nose, immediate present, and not the remote future. imagination of the Asiatic races has not attracted much notice, to Japan has shown it in a remarkable degree. The typical Briton confident of his luck and God-appointed destiny, has always in culed the idea of Russia coming within measurable distance of h dominions, until at last he now finds that he miscalculated. Br now there are Englishmen who do not believe that Russe influence can be in the ascendant in Tibet, and if Lord Curzon-the most Asiatic of the rulers ever sent out to India, as he has bee called—had not been at the helm of Indian affairs, probably no or would have noticed to what lengths matters had gone. Missions, one in 1900 and the other in 1901, were sent by the Distance to the Transaction of the Transaction Lama to the Tsar, and accorded a state reception; while the treat of 1890 with the British Government was repudiated; the boundary pillars set up under that treaty were removed, and British ternion invaded to emphasise the renouncement of that convention; India traders were interfered with, and British subjects carried and Letters of remarks that Russian arms have been imported into Lhasa—not in itself a objectionable given by objectionable circumstance, but proving a determination to reschina's suzerainty if China's suzerainty, if need be, and to instal Russia in the place Great Britain "It is need be, and to instal Russia in the write Great Britain. "It is the most extraordinary anachronism, Lord Curzon, "that in the twentieth century there should enter within 300 miles of the intermediate the century there should enter the century there are the century there is a contract the c within 300 miles of the borders of British India a State and Government with whom a limit of British India a second Government with whom political relations do not so much as writer and with whom it is investigated as the second s whom it is impossible even to exchange a lasting the lasting communication. Such a situation cannot in any case be lasting. Lord Curzon thought that Lord Curzon thought that unless the Tibetan Government signed acknowledged the converting acknowledged the convention of 1890, and unless a Political Age

was stationed at Lhasa, Tibet would continue to play into Russian hands. There is, however, a third party to be satisfied—the Sick Man of the Far East, the Dalai Lama's suzerain, who is unable to enforce his suzerainty, and who yet must be ceremoniously employed as the proper channel between Tibet and the outside world. From the very beginning Lord Curzon wisely disclaimed any "desire to declare a protectorate or permanently to occupy any portion of the country." The appointment of a Political Agent, too, having been considered incompatible with the suzerainty of China, the recognition of the treaty remains as the only object of the Mission that has been sent to Tibet under Colonel Younghusband. The Chinese representative sent from Peking, in December, 1902, to assist in the settlement of the dispute is said to have at last arrived at Lhasa; and it remains to be seen what he is able to achieve.

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The Official Secrets Bill, after many modifications, and much determined opposition, has at last been passed. It is not a heroic piece of legislation and will remain a dead letter, save in very exceptional instances, where the breach of official confidence has exceeded reasonable limits. It drew forth an outburst of indignation, chiefly because the original draftsman sacrificed every other consideration to that of making the law effective as against the publishers of official secrets. After the modifications made by the Select Committee, the opposition centred mainly round the proposal to penalise the publication of civil secrets, military and naval secrets having all along been considered entitled to protection. The Act, as originally passed fifteen years ago, was also directed against the unauthorised publication of civil secrets, but only by public servants. It was apparently thought that if the mouths of Government clerks were shut, the publication of official secrets in the newspapers would be impossible. Experience has belied that expectation, and a new experiment is now to be tried by casting the net wide enough to catch the non-official receivers of secrets as well as the official betrayers of them.

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The distinguished educationists who had to handle Mr. Raleigh's Bill in Select Committee have introduced many alterations in it, but the principal features remain the same. Lord Curzon, in his Convocation Address at the Calcutta University, drew a glowing picture of the Indian Universities of the future. Indeed, in his enthusiasm for the ideal he has in view he forgot the scope and provisions of the Bill. He said that the Calcutta University "will gather around it collegiate institutions, proud of affiliation and worthy to enjoy it; whose students, housed in residential quarters in close

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connection with the parent university, shall feel the inner mean of a corporate life." This will be true only if mofussil colleges abolished, and all colleges are grouped round about the sea House. For the time Lord Curzon forgot that Calcutta is Oxford. Yet if the Central Schools for advanced study are stand if the disciplinary jurisdiction of the Universities is proper exercised, there will undoubtedly be a considerable improvement in the quality of higher education.



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CORRESPONDENCE.

THEOSOPHY AND HINDUISM.

To the Editor, East & West.

SIR, -In the two ably-written articles which have appeared in East & West tor March and October, 1903, Mr. Beaman has explained the main causes why Theosophy was received almost with profligate jeering by a certain section in England, and how its onward course was thwarted and its high aim foiled by the charlatanry of some of its greater apostles. Simulacrums cannot hold out long. The mask not only becomes an instrument of torture but leads to exposure of the most crushing kind. It is well, therefore, that Mr. Beaman has emphasised the point that nebulous utterances about clairvoyance, occultism and all that dismal catalogue of psychic phenomena, will never succeed in the world. Ghosts, visions, manifestations, vast reservoirs of hidden forces, inspiriting messages from far-off spheres, miraculous flashes, mysterious premonitions—these have failed in gaining the support of any person in Europe who has been brought up in the austerer school of science. Out here in India the danger lies in quite a different direction. The process of alienating the thoughtful few has already begun. If Theosophy is but a synonymfor the hoarded wisdom of the world, and if its mission is to alchemise old hates into the gold of love, it should not betray any great leaning towards any particular religion. But, unfortunately, those who have yet come forward as Theosophists have most of them shown a lust, so to say, after Hinduism-unqualified, unchastised Hinduism-Hinduism with all its exploded absurdities. Our philosophy has infatuated them. But a general revival would bring some of the worst phases of Hindu society into prominence and the old dragons will be up again to work incalculable havoc among us. Let us glance at one or two evils which are not so rampant now, but which were once the centre of conservatism and moral support.

Though the rules of caste, even after so many flourishing sessions of so many conferences all over India, are not of the sweet-syrupy kind, yet, broadly speaking, the interpretation of them in several respects admits of much latitude in these days. Inter-marriage, inter-dining, disuse of widow's weeds are the dreams of the idealist—but recently an appreciable relaxation is seen in some quarters. Nobody, except a few fossils of the old schools, seems to be very keen on closely observing the iron code in private or in public life. It is only too well known that men of him of a parson that men of higher caste are prohibited from touching the dead body of a person belonging to an inferior station. This law generally acts with unmitigated vigour. In Bengal it is at times pushed so far that the practice becomes an insult to heaven and are the practice becomes an insult to heaven and the practi to heaven and a disgrace to human nature. Some months ago there passed away at Ghazing. at Ghazipur an eminent Mohammadan pleader. When the hour for interment drew near his body was a street of the stre drew near his body was lifted by Hindus and Moslems alike. Among the pall-bearers were Deck with the same and Moslems alike. Among the pall-bearers were Deck with the same and Moslems alike. bearers were Brahmins of high repute. It was a unique outburst of sympathy and love. The and love. The severe habits of exclusiveness were easily broken on that occasion. Tradition with the severe habits of exclusiveness were easily broken on that occasion. Tradition, which is a toothless crone with memory half-gone, had no sway whatever. Duly the state of the sway whatever but to the sway openly whatever. Public opinion, which is a chaos of deleterious prejudices, was openly defied. Would the opinion, which is a chaos of deleterious prejudices, was openly defied. Would the bare idea of such a thing have been possible 50 years ago? 318

Would not the corpse of a non-Hindu have been regarded as loathsomed Yet on that dolorous day men who have never wantonly played faster with the laws of caste, voluntarily came forth, and showed their unstinted for the last remains of a fellow-citizen who had, during his life, cherished beliefs and striven after far other ideals! The revival of Hinduism was the resuscitation of certain customs the punctilious observance of the mainsprings of progress. It would certainly mean the resuscitation of that monumental domestic autocracy of man which crushed the mentation of that they have attained a full-blown status yet. But their nature. Not that they have attained a full-blown status yet. But refinements of cruelty to which they were subjected in the past are may valent now. If the household tyranny of former times had its day again, where do in polygamous wedlock, would be left to devote themselves a limentation of infants, shut out from all that is fair and good.

This, then, is the danger. Too great a loyalty to Hinduism in its

This, then, is the danger. Too great a loyalty to Hinduism in its integrity will repel those who have pondered with pain over some of its aspects, and grudged noisacrifice in removing them; and strains of unmited of the Hindu philosophical teachings are apt to become cloying in Theosophy, says Mr. Beaman, cannot and ought not to be identified a religion. In much the same way it should not be understood to decrease inspiration from one single source alone. The modern tendency on the Theosophists to identify it with the Hindu religion and all its incorp

must, therefore, be checked.

H. L. CHATTER

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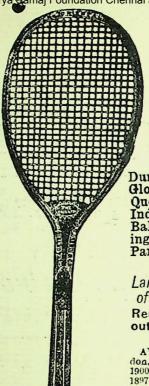
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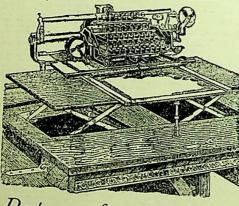
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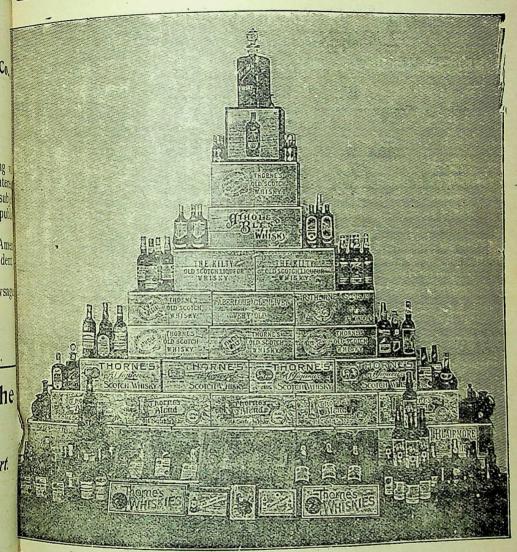
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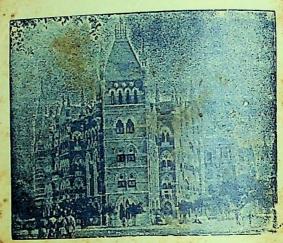
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succes limite combination might prove disastrous, both for themselves and the army of the English. To our officers the prospect of a big fight was cheering: they believed that hordes of wild horsemen dashing against their disciplined infantry would break like waves beating against rocks. And the men? Well, the white soldiers had faith in themselves, and the sepoys in the sahibs and their guns. Lord Lake, cognisant of the financial and political situation in Leadenhall Street and Calcutta, assured his timorous well-wishers that if they performed their duty and furnished sufficient supplies for his army, he would see that the consummation they feared would not occur. Meanwhile he continued to move towards the Beas, making no attempt to force a battle. As pursuers and pursued approached Umritsar, the holy city of the Sikhs, Runjit Singh felt inclined to throw in his lot with Holkar and roll back the white intruders, but before committing himself he secretly visited the English camp, and noted the machine-like drill of the sepoy battalions, the mobility of the Company's artillery, and the solidity of the British regiments, horse and foot. The sight convinced him that peace was more to his advantage than war. Like Lord Lake, he presently had other reasons for avoiding an appeal to force. He learnt, or shrewdly suspected, that Lord Wellesley's expansion policy would soon be reversed, and that the Jumna would then be fixed as the northern limit of British interests. Having made up his mind that his best policy was to get rid of both Mahrattas and English, Runjit Singh definitely rejected Holkar's overtures, and advised him to come to terms with his opponent. The matter was easily arranged, and soon afterwards the two armies retired within their respective territories in Hindustan. The Raja of Lahore had now a clear field for prosecuting his designs against the independence of the petty rulers holding the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna. For the next two years he made the most of his opportunities, whilst our impatient politicals, sitting idle on their side of the ring-fence ordained by the Directors of the Company in 1805, pretended indifference to all his aggressions.

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With India again tranquil, trade active and stock buoyant, the Board of Directors now congratulated their shareholders upon the success which had followed adherence to the commercial principle of limited liability. Whilst still in that happy frame of mind, 2 fit of

Francophobia, the predecessor of a century of Russophobia, to possession of our leading statesmen. Forgetting their geograph they assumed that, because Napoleon had enslaved continent Europe and talked of marching on India, he could and would repe in Asia all that Alexander the Great had accomplished there the world was young and questions of supply and transport were small importance. The contagion of alarm spread swiftly, I Directors were infected. Lord Minto, the then Governor-General caught the disease. In hot haste he arranged to despatch mission to Persia, Afghanistan, and the Punjab, to collect information abor those countries, and induce their rulers to operate in resisting impending attack upon their common interests.

Charles Metcalfe, a civilian of twenty-three, with a stool int Government office at Calcutta, was chosen as envoy to the count Runjit Singh. To that astute ruler the advent of the young dipl matist was unwelcome. In the Raja's opinion the duty of the English was to remain on their own side of the fence, and leave his free to extend his dominions eastwards to the common boundary the Jumna. He had no delusion about the professed object of the mission. Oppressor of Europe this Napoleon might be; but still! was no god, and could not perform miracles. Were he to attempt to lead an army through the thousands of miles of deserts and mour tains which lay between his base and his alleged objective, not a mile would survive to reach the Indus. The whole idea appeared of Runjit Singh and his advisers so preposterous that they were one vinced it was only put forward as a pretext for a renewal of interference in the regions trans-Jumna. Whether conscious or not of the character for a region of of the the absurdity of his instructions, Metcalfe urged the Raja-or Maharaja as he was a second to the Raja-or Mahara raja, as he was now styled in consonance with his risen fortunes lose no time in joining a Central Asian coalition against Napoleon The English

"The English want my aid to preserve their Empire," the Male Conserved. "Get I raja observed; "if I agree, I presume they will in return help me consolidate my leist agree. consolidate my kingdom."

"In what way?" the envoy inquired.

"By recognising my sovereignty over all the Sikh States on the States of Hindustan side of the Sutlej," was the prompt reply.

but will refer to my Government," was Metcalfe's answer, delivered with

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heat or emphasis as if he were merely repeating a routine formula.

The announcement annoyed Runjit Singh. He knew British methods and anticipated the result of the reference. However, the reply would be long in coming, and his position as man in possession would be stronger than were he to sit still and remain on his side of the river. He broke off further negotiations, poured his horsemen into the debateable territory, and rioted therein for the next two months, seizing Faridkot and Ambala, exacting tribute from Malerkotla and Thanesar, and exchanging turbans with the Raja of Patiala, a ceremony correctly symbolical of brotherhood, but with Runjit Singh, of polite extortion.

Metcalfe remonstrated, but could take no action until the receipt of orders. When they came he informed the Maharaja that his Government had decided to extend its protection to all the cis-Sutlej states, and that to support the decision British troops were marching on Ludhiana. After asking questions about the number and composition of the force, Runjit Singh delivered the caustic comment, that as the Company's declared boundary had been hitherto the Jumna and was now the Sutlej, he presumed that it would soon be pushed to the Beas—there was no limit to the British appetite.

The envoy endured the taunt in silence, conscious, perhaps, that it was not unreasonable. The Maharaja, still further incensed, his one eye rolling, as it did under excitement, and his pox-pitted face puckering from ill-suppressed rage, seemed about to strike the man sitting there so cool and imperturbable. For some time the two young men—Metcalfe was twenty-three, Runjit Singh twenty-eight remained facing each other, neither speaking, each expecting the other to say or do something. Presently Runjit Singh ended the tension. Rising abruptly, he ran down from the roof, whereon the interview was being held, and reappearing in the courtyard below, mounted his horse, and bucketed the animal about in full view of the still unruffled but much-wondering Englishman. Having recovered his self-control, the Maharaja returned to a lower room, and intimated through his ministers that he would not oppose the British demands. In the evening, probably emboldened from the effects of brandy, he retracted his too precipitate assent to what to him was an unjustifiable encroachment, but demanded time for deliberation, pointing out, with an approximation to theoretical in that in a matter involving the dismemberment of the Sikh common wealth, it was necessary that he should consult the leading ment in this nation. A few days later negotiations were resumed at Umits They were protracted for many weeks without a sign of progree religion. When an accident occurred, which not only led to the happing immediate consequences, but proved the cement which bound to observe the death, thirty years later.

It happened that amongst the envoy's followers were a number of the second seco of Muhammadans, and that when their sacred month, Muham came round, they began the celebration of the martyrdom of the saints, Hasan and Hosain, with the rites and ceremonies customer upon the anniversary in Moslem communities. The passing of biers to the place of burial, coupled with the wailing and tomtom of the crowd surrounding them, excited the Akalis of Umritsar frenzy. They raised the cry that the Moslems were about defile their temple. The city was soon in uproar. The Alz seized their arms, ran together, waylaid the procession, and opened matchlock fire on the handful of Muhammadans about the biers. panic ensued, during which the assailants began flourishing the swords and shouting the Sikh war-cry. A rush upon the envoy camp would have followed, had not his escort-two companies native infantry and sixteen troopers—turned out and stood to ami Fixing bayonets, the thin line of disciplined men charged and scattered the rioters, whilst the troopers circled round, cutting do stragglers. Runjit Singh, who must have foreseen a disturbance came up before it ended, and beheld, according to the office statement, with admiration, but more probably with secret dismi the routing of his braves by a handful of Hindustanis, a class above the second state of the second state whose nerve and courage he had hitherto been doubtful hastened to the hastened to the envoy, made suitable apologies, and compliments him on the conduct of his sepoys.

The impression left upon the Maharaja's mind of the powers effect of discipline was deep and permanent, for he soon conceded all the British demands—Napoleon as bogey-man been dropped—withdrew his horsemen to the right bank of Sutlej, and concluded a treaty of "perpetual friendship" with Company, and, what is more remarkable, though habitually faither

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tical with Indians, never afterwards broke faith with us. It must be admitted that, though the fracas ended happily, Metcalfe was addition addition and indiscreet in permitting his people to insult the Sikhs in their Umin religious capital. If to this day the celebration of the Muharram in f progre Delhi, a city of no peculiar sanctity and formerly the Moslem e happe capital of India, in spite of all precautions, frequently leads to bounds bloodshed between Hindus and Musalmans, it is evident that the observance of the festival a hundred years ago in the holy city of the Sikhs was a piece of foolhardy daring which might have brought about the annihilation of envoy and escort and a war between Sikhs and English. Metcalfe's callousness to the susceptibilities of the Sikhs was in keeping with the lordly scorn which in those days our officers habitually manifested to what they deemed "the superstitions of the heathen Indians." Even thirty-eight years afterwards, when Lahore was first occupied by our troops, "cow-rows," as Englishmen contemptuously called them, -due generally to our Moslem butchers openly slaughtering cattle and hawking beef about-were of occasional occurrence. In the Punjab we now err, if anything, in the other direction, and by the over-protection of religious prejudices enable cantankerous persons to cause rioting between the followers of the rival creeds. Our policy in this respect is not appreciated, the baser sort assuming that npanies d our motive is to keep alive feelings of religious intolerance between d to ams. Hindus and Muhammadans, and thus bring home to both the necesarged and sity of our impartial rule. ting dow

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To return to Runjit Singh and his doings: upon the departure of the Metcalfe mission, he at once proved the sincerity of his newborn belief in discipline by taking in hand the remodelling of his forces. By attracting deserters from our sepoy army into his service, and employing them to drill his foreign mercenaries, he soon obtained the nucleus of a regular army. Hindustanis, Gurkhas and Afghans enlisted in considerable numbers, the promise of good pay and the certainty of large opportunities drawing them to Lahore. As Runjit Singh's plans developed, he exhibited the same cosmopolitanism in the officering of his regular forces. White or brown, Hindu or Moslem, Teuton or Latin, all were employed provided that they knew their trade. In the latter half of his reign his most competent and least distrusted governors and generals were

men of French, Italian and Dutch extraction-military waifs war-exhausted Europe. Having accustomed his wild horsemen the sight of the drill-sergeant his next step was to extend then system to them also. They had been chiefly instrumental in raise him from the position of "boy Raja of Lahore" to that of "Mahar of the Punjab." The Khalsa-the "elect" or "chosen people" the Sikhs called themselves—did not take kindly to Runjit Sing innovations. The new restraint was irksome to men accustomed liberty. Moreover, the foreigners, European as well as Inde according to their numbers, position and emoluments, pro tanto less for Sikhs and reduced their power in the State. However, always, Runjit Singh had his way. Probably, except in the case Metcalfe, he never met the man who thwarted his will. His w sonal ascendancy was so great, the conviction that he was the c Sikh capable of acquiring and holding an empire for the glory of Khalsa so general, that no one ever dreamt of opposing his deternation to mould his people into soldiers on the English patter Thus he gradually fashioned the army which, after the six years anarchy following his death, in spite of divided counsels and traite ous leading, all but shattered the fabric of the British dominion India. Whilst the reorganisation was in progress he employed unscrupulous statecraft and the anti-Moslem fervour of his people conquering Multan, Kashmir, the Derajat and Peshawar-all derelicts of the defunct Moghal empire. By 1830 the whilom princelet one of the many so-called "barons of the Punjab," was the disputed master of a considerable kingdom. His rise to greatness was more due to adroit statecraft supported by the show of for than to victories on the battlefield.

As an instance of his peculiar methods the story of his acquistion of the Koh-i-noor is worth recalling.

When in 1811 Shah Shuja, ex-King of Kabul, was wandering about in search of a kingdom, Runjit Singh took little interest in until informed that the Shah was the possessor of the great historic diamond. Runjit Singh then proposed to recover Kashmir for the Shah, and hinted that the Koh-i-noor would be acceptable as a given in return for such a disinterested service. As the fish did not rise the pretty fly another was tried—the offer of an immediate jagir of revenue-free estate in the Punjab, and of help at some future times.

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in an attempt upon Kabul. As that fly also failed, resort was had to threats. Letters were forged and read in open durbar, which implicated the Shah in a conspiracy against the head of the Khalsa. Pending investigation the suspect was placed under surveillance, and informed that he would probably be confined in the fortress of Govindgarh. The unfortunate object of the Maharaja's cupidity, being told that the surrender of the diamond would be accepted as proof of his innocence, protested that he had already pawned it. The next step was coercion through starvation. The guard round his house was increased and ordered to stop all access to it. When the pinch of hunger was felt by the Shah's family his fortitude gave way. He consented to negotiate, and an arrangement was soon concluded, wholly satisfactory to the jailer and not absolutely humiliating to the prisoner. Runjit Singh then paid a friendly visit to his victim. After declarations of mutual esteem and amity, the Maharaja proceeded to show his sincerity by exchanging turbans with him. Runjit Singh was a grim humourist in his way, and, holding that exchange was no robbery, expected the Shah to appreciate the delicate consideration with which the transfer of the gem had been effected: diamonds were the adornment of kings, not beggars: the Koh-i-noor might have been taken by force, but instead the Shah had given it to his friend, and received in return a strip of yellow muslin and the promise of a jagir. What the Shah felt is not exactly known. How he acted is on record: on the first opportunity he escaped in disguise from Lahore, and soon after found an asylum and pension in British territory at Ludhiana.

As the Koh-i-noor is, intrinsically and historically, the most valuable diamond in the world, and has since 1851 been the most prized amongst our Sovereign's crown jewels, most encyclopædias give an account of it. Only readers of Bosworth Smith's Life of Lord Lawrence know how nearly it was lost when, after the battle of Gujerat and the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, it was committed to the care of John Lawrence. He thrust it for the moment into his waistcoat-pocket, and some time afterwards, happening to feel it there it there, made it over to his bearer as absent-mindedly as he might his loose rupees. In due course orders were received by the Punjab Board of Administration to transmit the jewel to our

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"Well, send it," said John Lawrence, supposing it was in the treasury.

"But you have it, John," his brother Henry reminded him.

The whole thing flashed upon John in an instant: he admitted he had it, and was in terrible trouble until he found his bearer, and

asked the man if he knew where it was,

"That bit of glass!" the old fellow exclaimed. "I put it in some box."

After rummaging about, the bearer discovered it and brought it to his master. "The bit of glass" had been pushed into a discarded tin case with a broken lock in which odds and ends were kept

The Koh-i-noor case exemplifies Runjit Singh's system is squeezing others, the progressive steps being artifice, bullying, for the actual blow being softened by some little device designed to save appearances.

As a hard-hearted man of business, the Maharaja should have been superior to all weaknesses, yet at times he was a slave to superst tious feeling. Thus in 1831, just before crossing the Sutlej at Rupe to meet Lord William Bentinck, fearing treachery, his courage failed him. He summoned his priests and ordered them to search the Granth (Sikh bible), and read therefrom what the issue of his interview with the Governor-General would be. They did as conmanded and announced that all would be well. But Runjit Singh wanted some clearer indication, and ordered his astrologers to real the stars. When they, too, replied as the priests had, he demanded The priests and a sign which he himself could see and interpret. astrologers, having consulted together, said to him, "This shall be the sign. Take two apples and when you first see the white kill and his minister, present one to each, and if they forthwith receive the offerings be assured, otherwise return at once." The Maharaja apples in hand, crossed the river, and seated on his state elephant advanced at the head of a bodyguard of 4,000 horsemen, and the Governor Consultry and seated on his state of the foreign and the governor Consultry and seated on his state of the foreign and the Governor-General's elephant met his, he held out the apples all they were smiling. they were smilingly accepted. Not until then did Runjit Single cast out fear and at cast out fear, and step into the howdah of the elephant on white sat Lord William Post time to the sat Lord sat Lord William Bentinck. Side by side the two potentates passed in stately processive. in stately procession up the tented streets lined by white soldies and all happened as held in and all happened as had been predicted.

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Although little business was transacted during the week of reviews and festivities which followed the first meeting of Runjit Singh and Lord William Bentinck, the consequences were far-reaching. The former returned to Lahore convinced that he had nothing to fear from the English, and confirmed in his belief that their resources and organisation—particularly in the artillery arm—were crushingly superior to his own. Military observers in the British camp scattered to their stations, confident that, should this upstart Maharaja and his swaggering soldiery ever try conclusions with the invincible Anglo-sepoy army, a march on Lahore would be a series of field-day operations. Politically, the immediate result of the Rupar meeting was the Governor-General's decision to forestall the Maharaja in Sindh. That the Indus was a neglected artery of commerce had long been an accepted belief with us, but hitherto we had only meditated commercial aggression in the valley of the Lower Indus. As Runjit Singh had ascertained that the country was defenceless and had hinted his intention of himself giving it a protector, Lord William Bentinck considered that British intervention could no longer be delayed. How to explore Sindh and open negotiations with its Amirs without alarming the Maharaja was solved by the ingenious device of despatching from Bombay by the Indus route, in charge of a political officer, some recently landed English cart-horses, a present sent out for the ruler of the Punjab by William IV.

The little manœuvre did not deceive Runjit Singh: he foresaw that the English meant to warn him off Sindh and ear-mark the country for themselves. Though illiterate and deriving all his knowledge from his personal experiences in his own little corner of the world, he understood mankind, both brown and white. He knew himself to be a successful adventurer and he measured others by his own standard. Whether individual or "Company,"—a term conveying to his mind an association of powerful men banded together with the object of exploiting India for their own benefit—it was his conviction that self-interest was the mainspring of action for both. Moral obligations and ideals were beyond his comprehension. He remembered how in 1808 the Company's Pretended fears of invasion by some French general, whose name he had forgotten, had gained them, and lost him, a province. As to

their movements in Sindh, it was obvious to him that the control of survey o ance of his present up the Indus in charge of surveyors and interest to a conveyors and interest to a conveyors and interest to a conveyor and interest to a gence officers was the preliminary to a commercial treaty subsequent annexation. The whole proceeding was a piece of street of this committee of the subsequent annexation. craft worthy of himself, and extorted his admiration. Not stre enough to oppose, he made the best of the situation, just as a k years later he professed approval of our Afghan policy, and la became a sharer in it.

As the "great game" developed, the ambitious politicals ex neering it plunged the Governor-General of the day deeper deeper into the adventure, until from the position of friendly back of the Ludhiana pensioner he advanced to that of principal acc Step by step, too, Runjit Singh became involved as an unwilling in a war which he foresaw must exhaust English resources and mic end in English disaster. He had himself been long nibbling Afghanistan. In 1823 he had seized and sacked Peshawar, si which time he had maintained a precarious hold upon the valle If the conquest of a small open country, only separated from t Punjab frontier by a river, was so expensive in men, treasure 2 prestige, that of the mountainous districts beyond, with the wid of the Punjab and a hundred miles of grim defiles between the Peshawar base and the objective, might cost the British their and perhaps their empire. So anticipating, the Maharaja calculated spilt it h that in every eventuality his meddling ally would emerge a suffered he a gainer. As the tertius gaudens he affixed his saffrondit hand to the "tripartite," an instrument under which all the responsibility sibility and expenditure were ours, all the possible advantage and those of our client.

Just before the campaign opened, Ferozepore was the scene state ceremony, picturesquely splendid yet grotesquely incompany gruous—the reception by the Governor-General of his friend at ally the Maharaja of the Punjab. The meeting of Lord Auckland surrounded by the gala-dressed forces of British civilisation in with Runit Single with Runjit Singh at the head of what had been called the glitter "horde of barbarian and head of what had been called the glitter than the result of the state o "horde of barbarians who had overrun the Punjab," and the right ings which follows have been distributed by the end of ings which followed might have been justified at the end victorious war but as the victorious war, but as the prelude to the march of an army thrown deserts into the march of an army thrown unknown deserts into the hostile mountains beyond, it was unseen

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Lord Auckland, in allowing himself to be committed to the costly enterprise, had assumed that the conditions obtaining at Ferozepore—brilliant sunshine, plentiful supplies, ample transport would continue until, in distant Kabul, his irresistible army had unseated the "usurper," restored to the Afghans their "legitimate sovereign," and then withdrawn to Hindustan.

So the army, rejoicing prematurely, set forth on its mission whilst the Governor-General, already king-maker in anticipation. moved with his large camp to Lahore, was there entertained by the

Maharaja, and drank with him success to their alliance.

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Now Runjit Singh, like most good Sikhs who could afford it. had been a confirmed toper from his youth upwards, and when not engaged in war, sport, or squeezing money out of the peasantry enjoyed convivial society. His evening entertainments were lively proceedings, and perhaps the most remarkable characteristic of his court. As the cup circulated, propriety degenerated into debauch. and ended in the indiscriminate bestialisation of king, guests, and nautch girls. When in the mood the Maharaja would single out a guest for special honour, would press to his lips the royal flagon filled to the brim with his own particular blend-a brandy distilled from raisins and sugared with powdered pearls. Lord Auckland, being a very distinguished personage, received the mark of royal favour. Whether he drained the liquid fire to the dregs or cleverly spilt it has not been recorded, but the scene at the parting of host sufferer and guest is historical—the Maharaja in a fit from intoxication inarticulate upon a couch, the Governor-General, set and grave, bending over him and uttering conventional words of farewell!

Runjit Singh's excesses during Lord Auckland's visit brought on his death-illness. Until he was fifty his splendid constitution had withstood alternate courses of hardships in the field and orgies in the palace without sign of strain. Then came the first warning paralytic seizure. Partially recovered, the strong-willed man reverted to his cups and his nautch-girls. When no longer able to walk unsupported, he still rode like a centaur, and continued to do so to the last. The indignity of being lifted into the saddle was avoided by his first mounting upon the neck of a kneeling attendant, whence on the man's rising, the transfer to the back of the horse

was easy. At Ferozepore, when attempting to walk unaide had stumbled and fallen—ominous sign—over a pile of British Throughout the conferences, though his limbs were then welling over powerless, the spell of his bright compelling eye and quick que ing tongue was felt by all around him. After his second stole Lahore, articulate speech left him. But to his last gasp he reme absolute master of his people, the sole and only "Lion of the Pu as he was often called. During the last month of his life he w ask news of our invading army by a movement of his hand gr and give orders by signs. When the advent of fever and warned him that English and Indian physicians were impotefurther arrest the process of dissolution, he sought to buy heaven what he had failed to obtain from man. He summ priests and holy men of all persuasions to his bedside, and lavis his hoarded treasures upon them. He endowed temples and shirt and sent elephants, favourite horses, golden chairs, and beds: as propitiatory offerings to various deities, and all to win a few n days or hours of mental life, for his body was already dead to fee On his last day, June 27th, 1839, he scattered a million sterling. even ordered the priceless Koh-i-noor to be sent to the temple Jagganath, an order which, fortunately for the glory of the Bri crown, was not carried out.

The end came in the evening. Next morning the corpse washed with Ganges water and conveyed in state to the plate cremation. Behind the bier surrounded by priests, chanting fur hymns, were conveyed in gorgeous carriages Runjit Singuist queens in rich clothing sparkling with jewels, and behind the que walked five slave-girls plainly clad. Arrived, Rani Kundan, chief wife, placed the hands of her lord's son, grandson, and principles of the lord's son, grandson, and grandson, and grandson, grandson minister on the breast of the corpse, and caused each to swell be true to the other two and the Khalsa, otherwise a suttee's would bring upon them the torments incurred by the slaughter thousand covers. thousand cows. Then mounting the pyre the brave woman down beside the had down beside the body, and placed the head upon her lap, whilst other wives and slave-girls—some recent purchases and movemen vet—group days and placed the head upon her lap, which we women vet—group days and placed the head upon her lap, which we would be a selected move that the property of the prop women yet—grouped themselves around. At the appointed more the pile was lighted the pile was lighted. As the flames shot up, the faces of the last women, still calm and women, still calm and transfigured, were visible for the last

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pre existing were allowed to fall into decay and ruin: the very towns were little better than poverty-stricken collections of huts and tumble-down edifices. The villages, except those of the Sikhs, were generally agglomerations of hovels surrounded by mud walls in disrepair. The cultivators, the dominant Khalsa excepted, were treated like slaves: the country was divided into districts, each containing from ten to four hundred villages, and the right of collecting the revenue, that is, of squeezing as much out of the villagers as could be realised, was sold to the highest bidder or granted to priests or jagirdars. Provided that taxes were paid, neither Maharaja, revenue-farmers, nor jagirdars cared whether the peasantry lived or died of starvation. Up to the last Runiit Singh acted as if for him there could be no death: he made no preparation for the continuance of order, and, as a consequence, when he died, the fabric built and held together for forty years by his genius collapsed from the inherent weakness of its construction...

Judge-1 by the moral standards of to-day, Runjit Singh was a monster, but a century ago good Sikhs had no morals, and those of Anglo-Indians were indifferent. In West and East that age was coarse, and even in strait-laced England to be "drunk as a lord" was no discredit. Thus Runjit Singh's contemporaries from oversea were lenient to his failings, and as to his own countrymen, with apportunity every one of them would have been his admiring imitator.

In spite of his sins, vices and crooked ways, Runjit Singh was the greatest Indian of the nineteenth century. He welded his people together into a powerful nation, carved out an empire for himself, held it throughout a long reign, was true to his alliance with us for thirty years, and left behind him an army—his own creation, and all obtained by voluntary enlistment—which after years of anarchy, betrayed and leaderless, was yet strong enough to resist the whole might of our Empire in a series of pitched battles, and just fall short of winning.

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THE CASANOVA INSTITUTE AT NAPLES.

MONGST the many problems now presenting themselves selves as solution at the hands of those who are interested in then, abo welfare of India, not the least pressing or important are those private c nected with industrial education. Nor are these problems render the infant less difficult to solve by the fact that they have not yet hand in successfully dealt with in countries of the west, where the systempting of general education are more advanced than those of India, where experts are still seeking—with results not entirely saxisfaction -to discover the soundest basis for an education which shall, itself, be sufficient to enable a boy to earn his living by the work his hands. The matter is one which is now engaging the spate attention of Government and the public in India, and it may the fore be not without interest if an attempt be made to describe brid the well-known Casanova Institute of Naples, which claims for work and for its unique system a success which we should rejoic local hab see attending the industrial schools in this country. I have recently had the opportunity of visiting this institution who thanks to the courtesy of the Director and his staff, every fact was readily given to me for a complete inspection.

At the outset it may perhaps be well to say a few words at the history and the objects of the Institute. It owes its exist to the kindly humanity and the generosity of Signor Alfonso Valle di Casanara Valle di Casanova, a gentleman of Naples, who, more than the vears are would years ago, would seem to have been struck by the absence of provision for the further education of boys who every year, at age of seven leave the age of seven, leave the Municipal Elementary Schools on the pletion of the course pletion of the course taught in those institutions. As these boys the children of the large transfer in the children of the children the children of the lowest and poorest classes in Naples, it was to be expected the children of the lowest and poorest classes in Naples, it was to be expected the children of the lowest and poorest classes in Naples, it was to be expected the children of the lowest and poorest classes in Naples, it was to be expected the children of the lowest and poorest classes in Naples, it was to be expected the children of the lowest and poorest classes in Naples, it was to be expected the children of the lowest and poorest classes in Naples, it was to be expected the children of the lowest and poorest classes in Naples, it was to be expected the children of the lowest and poorest classes in Naples, it was to be expected the children of the lowest and poorest classes in Naples, it was to be expected the children of the lowest and poorest classes in Naples, it was to be expected the children of the lowest and poorest classes in Naples, it was to be expected the children of the lowest and poorest classes in Naples, it was to be expected the children of the lowest and poorest classes in Naples, it was to be expected the children of the lowest and poorest classes in Naples, it was to be expected the children of the lowest and the lowest to be expected that the parents, from their own unaided resolution

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and without special encouragement, would be either willing or able to take effective steps for carrying on the education of their children, who thus stood a very good chance of being sent into the world at an early age, unable to read or write, and unfitted, certainly, to succeed in any calling demanding skill, dexterity or the most elementary knowledge of books. It occurred to Signor Casanova that it would be well if something could be done to take care of these children, and to supply them with facilities for continuing their education and learning a trade by the exercise of which they might support themselves as useful and honest members of society. Under his auspices, ed in then, about the year 1864, there came into being an association of hose of private citizens, whose object was to get hold of the children leaving rende the infant schools, and to place them in more advanced institutions yet k and in private workshops, watching over them generally and e Syste attempting to give them some of the advantages of family life by India, assembling them together once a week, on Sunday, for lectures, singing and gymnastics. The founder's desire was, as far as possible. shall to unite the school, the workshop and the home. The method first e work adopted was tried for five years, but was not found to meet adethe spa quately the conditions which had to be dealt with. The idea then came to Casanova of bringing all parts of his work under one roofbe but of uniting, in actual fact, the school, the workshop and the family.

This scheme met with universal approval and received the rejoint aractical support of the Municipality of Naples, which provided a local habitation for the new institution and promised to lend its own teachers for the elementary school, which formed then, as it forms now, an important part of the undertaking. Thus in 1869 the Institute, then known as the "Opera Casanova," was inagurated, the system of training adopted being almost identical with that now in force. In 1880, after ten years of success, it received official recognition in the shape of a Government decree, which constituted the Institute a "corpo morale" and, so to speak, gave it a charter of its own. During the succeeding years it has continued to flourish, and the works of its pupils have gained for them many prizes at International Exhibitions. It is regarded, and apparently with good reason, as an entirely successful institution, and its popularity is still unabated. At present there is accommodation on the premises for seven hundred boys only, but the full number is kept up and many

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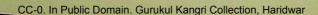
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applications for admission have to be refused. The value of school is, however, so well recognised by the Municipality and drawing the Institute, and this will allow of the numbers being raised that the value of the numbers being raised to the value of the value of the numbers being raised to the value of the value

The Institute is supported by funds derived from various sor room is It receives what may be called a grant-in-aid from the Govern accomm in addition to which there are donations and subscriptions moulding certain public bodies and private persons, and an appreciables workers realised by the fees of the pupils, each of whom is charged on (tenpence) per month throughout the whole of the course. The is imposed quite as much as a matter of principle as for purpose revenue, because it is thought undesirable that, as a general rule education afforded by the Institute should be entirely free, regulation is relaxed in the case of children who have lost father, and of those who have a brother in the Institute: such i pay only half the usual fee. Orphans deprived of both parents educated for nothing. The fee paid, however, the pupils have other expenses connected with the school. They are supplied with books, stationery, drawing materials and all other requisite their work in the class-room and their training in the workshop

The Casanova Institute is situated in the heart of Naples, far from the celebrated museum which contains amongst things the artistic treasures brought from the buried cities Herculaneum and Pompeii. The entrance is from a small, unsand Piazza, connected on two sides with narrow streets not free that dirtiness for which the older streets of Naples har unenviable and so well-deserved a reputation. originally a convent and some of the workshops are now plate what work from the workshops are now plate when the workshop what were formerly the cloisters. At the back of the main but and bounded on one side by the cloisters is a fairly large country used as a play-ground, and on two sides of this have been the per worker than the period of this have been the period of this have been the period of the pe new workshops, larger and more convenient than those which been provided in the older part of the premises. portion of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used for the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used the sound of the house contains the class-rooms used the class-rooms us work of the boys and for the drawing lessons. fitted with comfortable seats and desks, while the latter have a requisites of the requisites of the various classes which are instructed in the

building assemb in the s each y of the 1 they se and are yard. but this the firs and are proprie Institut attache This p introdu the co necessa proprie he wou he wor under t someth inconve upon 1 stated the wo Casanc sort o import



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ality drawing. In one room geometrical drawing only is taught, in another ornamental designs. A third room is occupied by boys in the alsed later stages of the course, who are working at drawing as applied to the various industries in which they are engaged. Downstairs a ious or 100m is devoted to modelling in clay, while yet another class-room Government accommodates those pupils to whom a knowledge of the art of waxiptions moulding is essential if they aspire to success as silversmiths or ciables: workers in the baser metals of iron or bronze. The largest room in the ged on building serves the purpose of a Hall in which the whole school can be e. The assembled, and on its walls are displayed examples of the work done purpose in the shops, shewing for each industry articles turned out during each year of the course, and thus affording a graphic representation of the progressive stages of industrial skill attained by the pupils as they serve out their apprenticeship. The workshops are numerous and are placed mostly on the ground-floor surrounding the courtyard. One of the largest is that of a firm of mechanical engineers, but this is accommodated in the old part of the building and is on the first floor. The rooms were not designed for their present use, and are in many ways inconvenient, but this has not deterred the proprietor of the works from continuing to maintain them in the Institute. This fact is not without significance as shewing the value attached by a business man to connection with this school of industry. This point is important when the question of the feasibility of introducing the Naples system elsewhere is under consideration, as the co-operation of the proprietors of workshops is, of course, a necessary ingredient of the scheme. It is true that this particular proprietor takes a personal interest in the welfare of the school, but he would seem to be a keen man of affairs, and it is not likely that he would hamper the development of his own business by working under the conditions prevailing at the Institute if there were not something in the situation, as a whole, to compensate the manifest inconveniences of an unsuitable building. The conditions imposed upon proprietors will be referred to again below, but it may be stated here that it would appear that the fact of a tradesman—using the world. the word in its most dignified sense—having his workshop at the Casanova Institute confers upon him, in Naples at any rate, a sort of cachet which improves his position and testifies to his

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The following is a list of the workshops attached to

I electrical fitter.

I bronze founder.

I printer and type-founder.

r cabinet maker.

1 carpenter.

I silversmith and electroplater.

I jeweller.

1 watchmaker.

1 astronomical instrument me

ı physical apparatus maker,

I tin smith.

I blacksmith.

I wood carver and inlayer.

I mechanical engineer.

This rough description of the school premises would not complete without mention of the enclosure in the courtyard with is devoted to gymnastics. Here is to be seen such apparatus a usually found in a gymnasium, and here, on Sundays chiefly, they are instructed in drill and physical exercises, the necessity of indining which in any system of education intended to be thoroughfully recognised by the authorities of the Casanova Institute.

Before entering upon a more detailed account of the working the school, it will perhaps be useful to give a general description the system on which it is based, and which, in its most import feature, differentiates this institution from the common type industrial school. The Casanova Institute consists practically two divisions which are regarded as being more or less distinct one from the other, the connection between the two being that it boys in the higher or industrial division—as it may be termed all passed into it from the lower or elementary school division boy in the elementary school has nothing to do with the workship and a pupil who has entered the workshops has no further relative with the elementary school—except that its class-rooms accome date the senior boys also when they are engaged in the stu which accompany their normal training. The child who enters Institute on leaving the Municipal School is always about seven is old. His education up to that time has proceeded but a very way—indeed but a very but a first the state of the first than the state of the first than the state of the state o way—indeed, he is unable to read or to write. Hence the first of the Institute is to bring his general education to the point in the may make a few seconds. he may make a favourable start towards the acquisition specialised knowledge. specialised knowledge, both practical and theoretical, which essential to his successions. essential to his success in life as an artisan, and here it may per be as well to point out all be as well to point out that what the Naples School aims at the

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is the ordinary artisan—not the superintendent of a factory or the inventor of new and improved processes, but a member of the rank and file of labour. This fact is one which should not escape notice. There are other institutions in Naples for the instruction of those who are destined to occupy the superior posts in the various technical industries, but the Casanova Institute undertakes only to turn out boys capable of earning their living as common workmen. That some have achieved greater things is an additional credit to the school.

In the circumstances, then, it is necessary that for the first three years of the course each pupil should be kept in what is known as the elementary school. Here his work is entirely literary and general, and, except, perhaps, that somewhat unusual attention is devoted to drawing, it contains nothing to indicate the specialisation which is to take place in the future. At the close of each of these three years the boy passes from one class to another, after examination, and when he has successfully completed this course the time has come for him to be introduced to the trade which he is to learn, and to the workshop in which, by the labour of his own hands, he is to become practically acquainted with the industry by which he will in the future gain his livelihood. For the remaining five years of his stay at the Institute he spends the greater part of his time in the workshop, but several hours a week are devoted to drawing in the class rooms, and an appreciable time is given also to the continuation of the literary and general education which was begun in the elementary school. During the last two years the boy is instructed also in the elements of the sciences connected with the trade which it has been arranged that he shall pursue.

It is mainly in respect of its workshop system that the Casanova Institute differs from other industrial schools and sets an example which, given suitable conditions, might, it would seem, be followed elsewhere with success. In the ordinary type of industrial school, where instruction is given on the class system, the workshop is little more than an educational laboratory, the teacher is a school-master, acquainted, it is true, with the theoretical aspect of the industry which he is endeavouring to teach, but not often capable of giving practical demonstration of the actual work to be done. At the Casanova Institute the shop in which the boy is trained is

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which y perhi t train the factory—and often the only one—in which the proprie executes the work required for the trade by which he himself and the teacher is the master-artisan who is himself engaged carrying out the identical processes which he explains to the In other words, the boy is not so much the pupil of a school as apprentice of a tradesman.

The school authorities exercise a close supervision over boys in the shops, as in the elementary school, and the every care to see that they are instructed in the best methods that their conduct is satisfactory, but to this their connection the shops may be said to be limited. For the output of the factories the proprietor alone is responsible. As a matter of k the shops attached to the Institute are owned by some of best known mechanics and tradesmen in Naples, men who k large shops in other quarters of the city for the sale of their god It must, of course, be to their interest to train their apprentices! do such work as shall suit the market, but, however this may the school authorities are in no way concerned with the dispe of the articles on which the pupils try their prentice hands, and t is avoided a problem of considerable complexity, which confic those industrial schools which from their more academic naturez not and cannot be so closely in touch with the evershifting condition of supply and demand. From the above it will be seen, then, the the Casanova Institute differs chiefly from other industrial school in that it is founded on the apprentice and not on the class system

PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH THE INSTITUTE IS CONDUCTED.

Having now described the Institute in general terms, endeavour will be made to state in more detail, but as brid as possible, what seem the most interesting facts in connectivity with its working. Three conditions are insisted on before child is admitted. There must, in the first place, be an assurance that the boy is in a position to derive advantage from the curriculum of the Institute and will obey the regulation. Secondly, the parents, or those acting for them, must declare willingness that he should learn a trade, and, lastly, the child pass a certain elementary examination. After admission each pays a fee of tenpence per month, irrespectively of the class with the class will be a supplying the class with the class will be a supplying the class with the class will be a supplying the class will be a s

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he may be in, and, as already stated, there is no other charge of any kind. During the first two years the boys are taught nothing but their own language, geography and arithmetic, with preparatory exercises in freehand drawing, to which, in the third year, geometrical and ornamental drawing is added.

At the end of the elementary school course the boys know how to read and write their mother tongue, they have some acquaintance with its grammar and have been practised in dictation and simple composition, and they have acquired information regarding matters of every-day life, such as the names of the different parts of the body and of the ordinary articles of the household. In geography they have studied carefully the city of Naples and its surroundings and have learned a good deal about their own country of Italy-in its political and social, as well as in its geographical aspect. In arithmetic they have been familiarised with decimals and have been specially instructed in the use of the decimal system as applied to the coinage and weights and measures. In drawing they have had three years' practice and have become acquainted with the elements of design. At this stage, then, the boys are considered to have a sufficient acquaintance with the rudiments of knowledge, and, thus equipped, they are passed on to begin their training in the factories. At this point there is manifested a phenomenon which is worth noting, because unfortunately it is not without its analogue in India and elsewhere. When the elementary school course is completed, about 50 per cent. of the boys leave the institution altogether, their parents not desiring that they should proceed to the workshops. The cause of this is not far to seek. It seems that the fee levied at the institute is smaller than that which would be charged at other schools, and accordingly parents take advantage of this institution to obtain a cheap general education for their boys up to the standard which is reached in the elementary school. In many cases there has never been any settled intention on the part of the parents that the boy should receive practical instruction in a trade with a view to his afterwards earning his livelihood thereby, and on this point the experience of the Casanova Institute is supported by facts within the knowledge of all who are interested in India-where boys are often sent to industrial industrial schools because of advantages, unconnected with technical

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instruction, which they can obtain there, thus enabling the receive cheaply a good general education, although neither nor their parents propose that they should continue afterward practise the industry which they have studied in the school the case of the Casanova Institute it would seem as if some, at of the parents who withdraw their children after the third were not fulfilling the conditions on which the boys were admit but compulsion is, of course, out of the question.

However this may be, the fact remains that only about the boys who complete the elementary school course every proceed to the workshops. Looking at the matter in its general aspect—which, however, is not that which alone come the authorities of the Casanova Institute, whose object is to a an improvement in the condition of the boys of a certain a and not to provide a scheme of industrial education for the mass the experience would go to strengthen the view already, mi held that if a technical school is to serve a single purpose is a and if its success is to be measured by the proportion of its school who continue to work at the trades they learned there, then i not advisable to supply at the same institution a general education and an industrial, which are independent of one another. The now commented upon indicates very clearly the necessity of the all possible means to ensure that the boys admitted to an induced to an school are those only who will not fail to pursue in after life career for which such a school is designed to give them a special training.

So far as may be practicable, the individual tastes and talent each boy and the wishes of his parents or guardians are constible to the determining the particular trade to which he is to be applied. Each workshop, however, has room for only a special number of pupils, and it sometimes happens, therefore, that a cannot be put to the trade which he or his parents would like this case he is placed wherever there may be a vacancy. It describing the training of the boys who have attained to the shop, it will, perhaps, be well to say a few words as to the condition on which these factories are attached to the Institute. In selection are the suitability of the particular trade to the circumstants.



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the boys, and the honesty and efficiency of the master-artisans employed. The manufacturer is given the workshop premises free of rent, and this would seem to be the only direct compensation he receives. He is bound in return to maintain the workshop as his own concern and to instruct in it such number of pupils—proportioned to the importance of the trade—as may be determined by the school authorities. Further, he is not allowed to give instruction to any boys who are not pupils of the Institute, and he has to submit to the supervision of the school inspectors and other authorities whose duty it is to watch over the boys while in the shops to see that they are being properly taught and are behaving themselves.

From the fourth year till the end of the course the boys spend the greater part of their time in the workshops, learning by actual practice the processes of the trade to which they are apprenticed. From the fifth to the eighth year thirty-nine hours per week are devoted to the workshops—the period during the fourth year being somewhat shorter. In each shop there are master-artisans in whose presence and under the immediate direction of whom, pupils carry out their tasks. As the factories are engaged in turning out articles for the trade, the standard of workmanship must be that which will suit the market, and it is this standard which the apprentices are taught to attain. Their progress is naturally very gradual—the boys are only ten years old when they first come into a workshopand varies with the capacity of the individual apprentice, but it is not hindered or fettered by arbitrarily fixed standards or stages of instruction. As a boy is found able to do more difficult work, he is given it to do, and his success or failure depends entirely on his own ability and industry. As soon as he is capable of executing work which is of any appreciable value, he receives from his employer a wage proportioned to his usefulness. At the end of the eight years he obtains a certificate of fitness signed in the first place by the master-artisan under whose eye and whose guidance his work has been done, and countersigned by the proprietor of the factory and the Director of the Institute. Armed with this diploma, he has but little difficulty in finding employment when he leaves the Institute at the age of fifteen.

But it is not in the workshop alone that the training of the

pupils is carried on during the last five years of their course. are all the time receiving instruction in literary subjects, and especially in drawing—continuing, in fact, the course which followed up to the end of their third year. In the fourth history is added to the other subjects and in the sixth, seventhe eighth years, respectively, elementary zoology, botany or an physiology. In the sixth year political geography also forms r of the curriculum. Thus by the end of their eighth year the have received a very fair general education in their own langue in the geography and history of their own country, in arithme and in elementary natural science. In addition, they have be instructed in geometrical drawing as the basis of mechanics, at ornamental drawing for the artistic industries. From the sixth the eighth year they are taught to apply the principles of des which they have learned to the trade or industry which they z practising, and during the same years they are shown how to me in wax or in clay according as the one or the other medium better suited to their purpose. There is a special class of designation applied to machinery for the boys who are apprenticed as mechanic In their seventh and eighth years these boys are taught also t elements of statics and physics, in so far as these are necessary the understanding of machinery, and in the last year instruction

given also in very elementary chemistry.

It will be seen, then, that at the Casanova Institute, while the greatest attention is paid to the practical training of the boys, the theoretical side of their education is by no means neglected. They leave the school with a general knowledge quite sufficient their station in life and a very fair acquaintance with the rudiment of those sciences which are most closely connected with the work.

Nor is the spiritual side of their natures left uncared for.

day a brief portion of time is devoted to a lesson in religion as
morals, and on Sundays this subject receives special consideration.

As most of the boys come from the lowest classes in Naples
it is one of the special aims of the Institute to guide
improve the characters of the pupils. In this direction believed that a very considerable measure of success has
attained. The boys, as one sees them in the class-rooms, the pupils.

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ground and the workshops, are clean, bright and well-disciplined, and they are taught to be truthful and honest in all their dealings. To obtain the best results in controlling boys of the class from which the pupils of the Institute are mainly recruited, it has been thought necessary to keep the pupils hard at work and almost continuously under the supervision of the school authorities. Consequently, they have no holidays—except fast-days—as at other schools. Even on Sundays they attend at the Institute for religious teaching, drill and singing. There are no quarters for the pupils at the school. All of them live at their homes, and make their own arrangements for their food. The authorities would welcome the establishment of a hostel where the boys could be lodged and fed under the Director's supervision, but financial considerations make this an impossibility.

This short sketch is intended only as a description of the Casanova Institute and its working—as a statement of facts for the information of those not previously acquainted with this important school of industry. It contains no criticisms of the system on which the conduct of this school is based, nor has any attempt been made to examine how or to what extent that system might be applied in India. The discussion of such considerations would require more lengthy treatment than can be devoted to the subject within the limits of this article. This account should not, however, be concluded without noticing the undoubted popularity which attaches to this Institute and the great success which it has achieved in Naples. As already stated, the number of pupils is limited only by the accommodation available on the premises belonging to the Institute. applications for admission have to be refused, and it is fully expected that when the new promised by the Municipality are handed over, there will be no difficulty at all in raising the number at once from 700 to 1,000. These facts unmistakably speak well for the school and indicate that the labouring classes of Naples regard the system pursued as one which, from their point of view, is suitable to the work which the Institute has set before it. Further, the success of the system, under the existing conditions, cannot be gainsaid. It was stated by one of the workshop proprietors—a gentleman who is a well-known mechanical engineer and also a Professor of the

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Engineering College at Naples—that the general view now takes local industrial circles is that the apprentice system is the best fit for turning out practical workmen. In support of this it is avent that the boys who have been through the Institute course have difficulty in obtaining employment on leaving. The best of them not uncommonly retained as fully-paid artisans in the shops whether have been trained. Others go elsewhere, but their tificate is almost always sufficient to procure them work, a indeed pupils of the Institute, equipped as they are with a practical knowledge of their trade and a good general education, a much sought after. So well have some of the old pupils practical that two of them at least have now risen to the proposition of proprietors of the factories in which the present by are learning to emulate their success.

From the prosperity of the Naples School, however, one well not be justified in assuming hastily that the apprentice system me needs be successful when transplanted to another country applied amongst a different people. The question is one which vites, and indeed has already given rise to, discussion, from more the a single point of view. Such a discussion cannot be entered up here, but, in connection with this subject, it may not be out of plat to notice a fact which would seem to have its significancefact being that even in Italy, where the fame of the Casanor Institute must be widely spread, there has not been established and other industrial school on the same system. What this portent it is not easy for a foreigner to say, but the absence of imitations home suggests the need of caution abroad. Whatever may be the reason, however, it seems certain that the school and its system are in No. 1 are, in Naples, an unqualified success. The Casanova Institution has nobly carried out the desire of its humane and generous founds and it has also contributed largely towards the working out of some of the as yet unsolved problems of industrial education, which are now being attached a problems of industrial education, wells now being attacked in so many countries of the East as wells of the West.

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DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES IN INDIA.

TT is a trite saying that India has become an almost wholly agricultural country. Its chief industry, it may be almost said its only industry, now is agriculture. Agriculture has been encouraged by the opening of large irrigation works and railways. Large tracts of uncultivated land have been brought under cultivation, while at the same time the indigenous industries have decayed. Millions of weavers and artisans have been compelled to abandon their hereditary trades by the competition of foreign machine-made goods and have been driven to seek a scanty means of livelihood by cultivating land. The country exports its raw products and receives in return manufactured articles of daily use. A country so helplessly situated and unable to manufacture articles for daily use in every household must sink into deeper and deeper poverty and helplessness. No one can say that artistic talent or industry is wanting among Indians. Though artistic industries may have died out, there is a latent capacity in the descendants of artists of bygone ages, which only requires to be cultivated and drawn out. Witness the restoration of architectural monuments all over India under the supervision of the Archæological Department, or the high degree of efficiency attained in Mysore by the carvers of stone and wood, or the skill displayed in repoussé and chased metal work in Mysore, Tanjore and other parts of Southern India. The revival of home or cottage industries all over the country, aided partly by the use of labour-saving machinery, is the chief means of saving India from the evils of poverty. That India is absolutely and relatively poor no one denies. It must remain poor so long as all articles of daily use in every household are imported from foreign countries. Until the time comes when some of the raw products at least will be manufactured. factured into articles of daily use among the bulk of the population,

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there is no means of escape from poverty. These articles should difficulty there is no means of escape and the profits of manufacture she difficulty manufactured in the country and the profits of manufacture she limited in the country and the profits of manufacture she difficulty industries remain in the country.

By what means are the old indigenous industries to be review taught an and new ones encouraged? There is, first, the introduction of day ing, clay-modelling and Sloyd wood-work, or manual training, into weaving primary or secondary schools for general education. The weaving Institute difficulty is to find trained teachers for these subjects, and the more course is to provide them with adequate salaries and furnish the necessary artisan po apparatus. Normal schools may do a great deal towards not less th training of teachers in these subjects if they be properly equippe lation of But such equipment should be on a fairly liberal scale to be of mu lived by The next means is the provision of numerous industry piece-good These industrial schools are of various kinds. It by agricu lowest kind of these schools undertake to teach trades like carpenty be produced blacksmith's work, rattan work, carriage building and repairs, 2 masonry to sons of artisans and others who are newly taught the industries without possessing any hereditary aptitude. Industries schools maintained by the Missions chiefly for their native Chisic population are examples of these schools. Such schools do use work in places where it is difficult to find indigenous artisans where all work connected with the above trades has to be done people imported from distant provinces. Other industrial school besides teaching the above trades, aim at reviving the decaying industries of the town or taluk in which they are situated. The are indigenous industries which are in danger of perishing for wat of encouragement, want of capital, and want of sufficient men to carry them on. Industrial schools may be the means of saving such industries peculiar to certain localities. Industrial schools are als useful in improving the local industries and introducing a high standard of efficiency and skill. The Madura Technical School, instance has designed and skill. instance, has done much not only to popularise the indigenous and wood-carving for all in the Madura Technical Company wood-carving for al wood-carving for which Madura has long been famous, but to import it in quality. it in quality. New and useful industries, unknown before, may also be introduced and be introduced and popularised by industrial schools. The aluminion industry, which has been also be industrial schools. industry, which has been popularised by the efforts of Mr. Chatterly at the Madras School. at the Madras School of Arts, is an instance. Tile-making, which chiefly confined to the arts. chiefly confined to the West Coast, may be introduced without put

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difficulty into other places, where the requisite clays can be found. Industries like the manufacture of buttons, brushes, combs, steel nibs, frames for spectacles, and even clocks and watches, can be taught and newly introduced by industrial schools.

Along with the superior industrial schools should be mentioned of dray into weaving and sericultural schools. The Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute of Bombay trains young men for textile industries, but its course is suited only to the working of the power loom. The entire artisan population of India is estimated at twelve millions. Of these rds to not less than five millions are hand-loom weavers. This present popuuippe lation of weavers represents but a fraction of the number that once of millived by the hand-loom industry before the competition of foreign dustra piece-goods drove an immense number of them to obtain their living s. It by agriculture. What kinds of cloth, cotton, silken and woollen, can pental be produced on the ordinary hand-loom, the exhibits displayed in the is, 2 recent Madras exhibition amply show. These are still appreciated by the Indian people, and are preferred to similar cloths manufacdustrict tured on the power loom. Mr. Havell, Superintendent of the Calcutta School of Arts, has been making disinterested efforts to improve the lot of the weaver population. He advocates the attachment of the fly-shuttle arrangement to the ordinary hand-loom, by which the insall daily earnings of the weaver can be easily doubled. If in addition lo, se by to this improvement a few other improvements in the preparation of the warp can also be adopted, the outturn of the hand-loom would There be so far increased as to materially increase the income of the weaver and enable him to hold his own against the power loom. r want The subject of the improvement of the old hand-loom and of accustoming the weaver class to the use of the fly-shuttle, has been vigorously taken up outside Bengal, in Sholapur, Bijapur and Madras, and also in the Mysore province, where four schools have been recently sanctioned for teaching the use of the fly-shuttle.

In Mysore sericulture is said to have been first introduced by Tippu Sultan. The mulberry plant flourishes on the plateau of Mysore and the indigenous silkworms give from five to six crops of cocoons in the year if the seeds are not infected with disease. The detection and destruction of diseased eggs before they infect the trop are the chief means of help which a District Board or Government can give to the silk industry. There are neighbouring parts of

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the Madras Presidency where mulberry cultivation can flow well as in Mysore. Mr. Tata has, during the last few year making philanthropic efforts to improve the silk of Mysore, has evidently a great future before it. On his experimental Italian and Japanese plants have been cultivated, and their strict to the indigenous plant has been demonstrated. The rare reared, and the silk is reeled on Japanese methods by Japanese, and the silk is reeled on Japanese methods by Japanese methods by Japanese have been received from Europe and America on same silk produced at the experimental farm. While the silk produce the indigenous reelers sells at about Rs. 5-8 a pound, the produced on the farm is priced at 17s. per pound in Europe, possible to carry the improvement in the Mysore silk still further

The silk industry and the weaving industry are both emits fitted to be carried on at home. The silk industry is suitable the female members of a ryot's family, and agriculturists can devote the slack seasons and a portion of the day at all the weaving as a supplemental industry at home. Weaving schools for sericulture would effect a vast improvement in the large proportion of the people of India.

Higher than the ordinary industrial schools are polyter institutions like the Schools of Arts in the Presidency towns. Kala Bhavan of Baroda, and the Victoria Jubilee Technical Inst of Bombay. These, besides teaching ordinary industries, can in a highly artistic education in repoussé work, engraving, ornancion work, enamelling, house decoration, dyeing, calico-printing similar arts which require the training of the artistic faculties.

The scientific education given in the Arts Colleges has, so fall produced any immediate effect on the growth of new industric the development of old industries, though it certainly must spread a knowledge of the principles of science, and trained to sextent the intellect in the methods of science as well as the extent the hand. What is wanted for India in her present industrial size is a training in the methods of scientific research. A trained character in the methods of scientific research. A trained character in the methods of scientific research. A trained character in the methods of scientific research. A trained character in the method of a scientific research. A trained character in the method of a scientific research. A trained character in the method of a scientific research. A trained character in the method of scientific research. A trained character in the method of scientific research. A trained character in the method of scientific research. A trained character in the method of scientific research. A trained character in the method of scientific research. A trained character in the method of scientific research. A trained character in the method of scientific research. A trained character in the method of scientific research. A trained character in the method of scientific research. A trained character in the method of scientific research. A trained character in the method of scientific research. A trained character in the method of scientific research. A trained character in the method of scientific research in the method of scientific research. A trained character in the method of scientific research in the method of scientific rese

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DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

generously offered £200,000, is likely to be a great blessing to the people of India.

For improvement in agriculture, in addition to the help given by expert chemists, demonstration farms on the plan suggested by Mr. Chatterton would be of immense benefit, while the cost would be so moderate that District Boards may maintain them. These farms would serve as rural agricultural schools for the younger generation, and train them in the best methods of practical agriculture, while they would demonstrate the results of improved methods to the adult population of ryots. Improved agricultural machines and appliances can also be shown at work on the farms for the benefit of the surrounding population. Practical agriculture may also be taught in all the normal schools. The trained teachers would be able to teach the elements of practical agriculture in their village schools and also guide and advise the ryots of their village.

In these various ways the nation should try to help itself. Large expensive factories seem to be out of question at present for want of capital except in large cities like Bombay, Calcutta and Cawnpore. The salvation of India appears to depend chiefly on home or cottage industries, for which little capital is required, and which, let us hope, will be rendered infinitely easy when the supply of a cheap power like electricity is rendered possible in favoured localities.

In a country notoriously poor, the want of capital for the home industries should be supplied as far as possible by co-operative credit societies. The attention at present paid by the Government of India to the establishment of urban and rural co-operative societies is likely to give a great impetus to local industries. The industrial future of India also depends on the habits of self-reliance, thrift and perseverance of the people under the guiding hand of Government and patriotic leaders of Indian society.

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MUSINGS ON INDIAN MATTERS.

III. FUEL AND FODDER.

UR attention is sometimes drawn to two evils which have or out of good, to two misfortunes of the people which is various others, are laid correctly and yet unjustly to the chargeoff Anglo-Indian Government. Both are due to the great increase population under the English raj. Under it war has long ceased keep down their numbers, disease is so combated that it is fark deadly than of old, and the sufferings caused by famine have be very much mitigated. So the people have multiplied greatly. Me than nine-tenths of them seek to live by agriculture, so that not throughout Hindustan at least, there are but few villages wherecal vation has no extended so much that all culturable land has be brought under the plough. The jungle has been cleared, and very ! trees remain save those of fruit-bearing species; while the waste land on which alone the cattle may graze freely, has been narround to an area which is far too small for the popular demand. It is st therefore, that the cattle starve, and that the peasants manure their fields properly because the cowdung is of necessity burned for fuel.

I will venture to pursue the subject further. A philanthrown writer, stimulated by consideration of evils which undoubtedly end and too generally inclined to decry the existing Government, as picture for himself of "the good old days" in which each pease watched his herd of cattle return full fed and fat from the willage pastures, and then heaped up his fire with wood from well-piled stack of fuel. This is pretty, but incorrect. We can know exactly what the state of things was, but we can make than a guess. There are even now tracts in Hindustan (by what title I mean the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh) when



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wood for fuel is still very plentiful, and where the grazing lands are very wide. They are wider in area and better in quality, we may be certain, than any to which the average villager could have had access for several centuries past. From these tracts we can form a very sufficient idea of the circumstances of the people in regard to fuel and pasture in the old days.

First as to fuel. In almost every village there was probably some area of dhak or other scrub jungle from which fuel could be obtained, but the cutting, carrying and stacking to dry of wood costs something in money, or in man's labour equivalent to money, or at least in time and trouble, which last is not a negligeable quantity in this problem. On the other hand, cowdung fuel cost the peasant nothing and was at hand. Therefore we may be sure that the practice of the people then was, as it now is, in the thickly wooded tracts to which I refer. The poor, the economical and the lazy commonly burned cowdung as fuel.

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Then, as now, also, there must have been a demand for the cheaper fuel, and we may be sure that the peasants were ready to meet it with a supply; and that then, as now, though not to the same extent, loads of cowdung cakes went daily to each town from the surrounding villages.

Lastly, there must then also have been at least some of the present difficulty about getting manure to outlying fields; and altogether we may be certain that even in the good old days the fields did not get nearly the full amount of manure which they might have received.

Then as to pasture. We have no means of knowing what was then the average number of cattle per head of population, but judging from comparisons which can be made now, the people did probably keep a proportionately larger number than they do now which was some set-off against the larger area of waste land. As the waste then included good land as well as unculturable, the grazing was better, but then, as now, it must have been poor during a large part of the year on even the best land, and, as now, exceedingly poor on the remainder. At the best, however, it was inferior pasture, for so is all the pasture of Hindustan, the Himalayas not being included. It will not keep cattle in condition. Whether we take the low-lying grazing grounds at the foot of the Himalayas or the uplands of the

Vindhyan range at the other end of the province, tracts where cattle may graze their fill all the year round, the great majority of animals fed there look almost as bony and hide-bound as the miser creatures which seem to live on dust and kankar in the outskint any ordinary village. We may be sure, therefore, that the grave even in the good old days left much to be desired.

However, though it is of interest and of some use to show the deterioration of Hindustan in these respects has not been very great as some people imagine, the comparison has no bean upon the present needs of the country. The facts remain that people want more food for their cattle and more manure in the fields. To the question how these may be supplied, the general answer is that Government must provide them.

Their proposal is that Government, using its power undered Land Acquisition Act, shall take up land in each village, or in agree of villages, which comes to the same thing, and shall set these agree for the cultivation of trees for fuel, and for the pasturing of call so that no cause of complaint may remain. I have, however, next seen any attempt to show how the scheme would work out and venture to think that no such attempt has been made. I propose therefore, to consider it in some detail.

First, I would ask what area these reformers suppose would required. I assume that it is intended, if anything is done at all, I give the cattle a good area of pasture, and it certainly must be a good land. The cattle have the bad land already, the land which cannot be cultivated; but they want more, much more, so they must have it from the cultivated land. In England we reckon that a confirmainly dependent on grazing for its food, requires three acres good grass land. The Indian cattle are certainly much smaller that the English, but the proportion of food required does not decrease an equal ratio to the size of the animal, while the grasses of England are far more nourishing than anything of the sort in the plains the Hindustan. The grass in Hindustan is also very scanty indeed do ing no small part of the year, so on the whole the area to be allowed is the same.

We must, then, multiply this unit of three acres by the number of cattle to be grazed. One hundred head daily would probably be low estimate for the average of the villages of Hindustan, so of

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MUSINGS ON INDIAN MATTERS

should want three hundred acres set aside for grazing; three hundred should want of which at least two hundred would be of land now cultivated. This would cut a huge cantle out of the cultivated area of the average village.

The revenue now paid on these two hundred acres would be loss to the State, which in this case means not merely the Government but the whole body of tax-payers, who would have to make it good

in some other way.

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Government would have to find the money for the purchase of the land, in addition to losing the revenue, and would also have to find the money for giving such compensation as is allowed to the tenants who would be evicted from the land taken up.

This would not be only the area taken for grazing. must be separate areas for fuel production, for grazing is incompatible with the rapid and systematic production of trees which would be

necessary to give any marked increase in the fuel supply.

I have not the necessary data at hand from which to give the figures, and prefer not to give them roughly from memory, but any of my readers in India can easily calculate the cost of the scheme for grazing alone to the taxpaying public in loss of land revenue and expenditure in purchase money and compensation for the average village, which total may be mutiplied by the total of the villages to be dealt with, say over 150,000. He will find that the grand total will run to crores of rupees.

He might, then, if disposed to continue the subject, work out the loss to the country at large of the produce, mostly food-stuffs, of more than 30 millions of acres withdrawn permanently from cultiva-

tion.

If he likes he can then speculate on the future of the evicted tenants. There would be an average of not less than 15 to the 100 acres each with an average of four other mouths to fill. They could not live for more than a short time on the money received from Government as compensation, as they could not get other land to cultivate, or if they did, other persons must be ejected, for the average villages indeed where the area of cultivation has not already extended beyond the beyond the area of land which repays the toil of the cultivator by a living wage. They could find no other work to do.

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If he will do this, he will, I am sure, come to the conclusion the scheme is outside practical politics, even if a satisfactory in fuel and pasture could be secured. But we know the pasture would not be such as to keep cattle in really good contained the selling price of the fuel could not possibly be so long prevent the consumption for burning of a great quantity of me

The certainty that the heroic remedy proposed would be at is, however, no reason that nothing should be done; and some certainly can be done if the landlords will bestir themselves instance, there is in a large proportion of the villages of Hind and certainly also in the neighbouring provinces, much land which absolutely waste. This is land which being near to a river, lar small, is cut up into a network of ravines, deep or shallow, flow of water down to the river during rain. It may be quality but is absolutely useless, for it does not even afford scanty bites of grass as is given by the poorest of the level. It may, however, be reclaimed and made to pay. If very small of earth strengthened with statics be made at intervals in the of the ravines, they will check denudation of soil, and will cause earth to retain a part of the moisture which at present st rushes over it. In the land so prepared seeds of babul or similar can be sown and will germinate freely, and as they grow grass follow. Cattle and most especially goats must be kept out, but short time there will be good crops of grass for yearly out besides a quantity of firewood obtained by judicious lopping thinning; while in a few more years there will be timber of for a variety of purposes, the price of which will be equal to 15 decent rent for the land.

There is a good deal of other land which is cultivated very on speculation. If the year be favourable it gives a poor retroot, then the venture is a dead loss. Such land should be reserved grass and wood, which may be done with no practical intervent with the food-supply of the public or the livelihood of cultive I do not suggest that landlords should rush into this business would indeed be in every way undesirable, but only that they have some energy and business habits should make a start into may be in a very small way at first, but the work of reclaim will grow to their benefit and to the benefit of their tenants.



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those who care to enquire I would suggest enquiry from the Collector of Etawah near which station there is a very good examplar of such work.

I make no remarks about the reclamation of 'usar' land or similar waste, for in such matters the ordinary landlord does require

the guidance of Government.

The arrangement by which all the peasant farmers of a village (a mauzah) live together in one village site, which is prevalent in Hindustan (and also in the neighbouring and perhaps in all the provinces of India) is the very worst possible in regard to the supply of manure to the land. The fields close to the houses get sufficient manure but the rest get little or none, for there are considerable difficulties in removing it to the outlying fields, so the temptation to burn the cowdung or sell it for burning, and to waste the rest is great. This system of herding together is now absurd as well as injurious to the people as well as to the land, though maintained by custom which dies hard everywhere but especially so in the East. In "the good old days" it was necessary for mutual protection, but this is not now required, and there is no reason why each farmer should not live upon his own holding or at least that they should live in very small groups only, in little hamlets scattered over the village area. This does prevail in tracts which have been brought under cultivation in recent years, but landlords should exert themselves to make it general. With such an improved arrangement, the whole area of the village would become "home fields" and the total of food produced by the village could be vastly increased. I have myself seen a very few villages in one of our oldest districts where the change had been made, and the contrast between them and the surrounding villages was very striking. The system of many hamlets tends to some increase in the supply of wood and tends greatly to the better feeding of the cattle which must of necessity be stall fed. The other schemes of reclamation also tend to stall feeding which must become general.

One often hears that the people of Hindustan cannot possibly stall-feed their cattle, but as a matter of fact every one there who wants to make his cattle pay their way actually does so. It is not exactly what would be called stall-feeding in Europe, but amounts to it in the case of the farmer with his plough cattle, the carter with

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his oxen and the milk seller with his milch cattle. They are apter do it very badly, but they do it according to their lights; and to more the people at large appreciate the fact that economy in the food of their cattle is very false economy, the better it will be to them—and for the holy cow.

G. ADAMS.

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AN ARANYAKA FROM DURVASASHRAM.

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BELIEVE in the immortality of the Ego, the 'I,' the personal consciousness, in the sense of having had a prior existence and of having continued existence in future. So far I am in perfect agreement with Hindus and with Christians and the doctrines of most philosophers and of almost all religionists. I have assumed energy or spirit to exist with matter and, so far as the manifestation. of this one world is concerned, to exist for purposes of the manifested world and for its manifestation in matter. My understanding of things goes no further than the Monism of Haeckel. So that in this universe, at least, if spirit is immortal, matter is so also. One is equally liable to change with the other. "The body has an end-the soul or the embodied has none," this, as sung in verses 18 to 20 of the second chapter of Gita, I understand in a metaphorical and illustrative, not literal, sense. As to what the conditions of matter are elsewhere, I have no knowledge—neither, of course, experimental in the nature of things, nor inferential, which is of any value. Christianity ascribes to the current lifet he beginning of the Ego, or soul, as it is popularly called, and it is laid down that the salvation from the taint of the original sin which attaches to every human being is effectuated by devotion to a Personal God and by acceptance of the sacrifice of Christ for man as the Son of God. At the termination of the current life, lasting a second or a century, there is an eternity of conscious life, of two kinds. One is that of Bliss with God, and Christ, the angels and archangels, with the saved ones of all past and future humanity, saved through Christ. The life is to be all bliss and all peace, with no quarrels and no jealousies, all love and no hatred, all concord and no disagreement, all submission to the will of God and no rebellion, disobedience or difference, all light with no darkness.

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other kind of conscious perpetual life is reserved for those redeemed, whose deeds have been bad, or even praiseworthy is light of the ordinary intelligence of mankind, but unatoned for by reconciliation of the Saviour. It is to be a life of everlasting ture and pain in Hell. There are Christians who have perceived injustice of this eternal punishment to misguided non-believers others who lived before the birth of Christ and the origination His doctrines. Dean Farrar has substituted "Eternal Hope" perpetual Hell.

The Hindus, speaking generally, have, with perhaps great logical consistency, given no beginning to the Ego whom the deem immortal, equally with the Christians. So far as this and far lives are concerned, it is difficult to predicate immortality of the which has a beginning and such a recent one as the commencer of the current life. It is inconceivable to me, although a large sect of intelligent, conscientious humanity have conceived it, believed it and do believe in it. As such, I respect the belief and have recence for it, but cannot accord approval or agreement. The Hindoctrine was in the early stage of Christianity believed in solemnly given up by an Ecclesiastical Council at a later period.

Mr. Henry Haig, in his work "Some Leading Ideas of His ism," critically examines the doctrine of transmigration. He so Newton's first law is that a particle once set in motion in emposition in a straight line, with uniform reducity, for ever unless some external force supervenes. And a argues that if this be the law of nature in the material universit may also be that a soul latent in the Divine Source, once set motion, may continue to be for ever. If it be possible for a so to be condemned after a brief trial to everlasting suffering doctrine is not one which I can hold consistently with my idea of the Supreme Divinity. The doctrine that that which had a beginning the citation of Newton's law; and Fichte uses it in vindical of the doctrine of immortality.

Mr. Haig's second objection is that that which would be prove pre-existence is just that which is never available, viz., replaced by the provential of the p

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sophists speak of matters on a higher plane, and I have to stop the humble plane of my own and that of ordinary humanity. the number plant of the argument go for what it may be worth. Mr. Haig remarks that the absence of recollection worth does not by itself disprove the doctrine, but if that which is otherwise alleged in support of it is unsatisfactory, then the fact that no one remembers is sufficient to conclude its condemnation." And he adds that "moreover, the fact that no one remembers has this grave consequence—it entirely avoids the doctrine of moral purpose and utility." In making both these observations, Mr. Haig has quite misunderstood the law of Karma as understood by Hindu philosophers and theologians. In India Philosophy and Theology did not only go hand in hand, but were rolled up into one. It is impossible to separate the two and say where one begins and the other ends; the two are so essentially and inextricably mixed up together. Taking Religion in the sense of universal religion, permeating all religious systems and laying down cardinal points underlying all religions, this seems to be an advantage. Mr. Haig says that the Hindus trace their present sufferings not to fault but to fate-Karma. Everything which a man does in the current life or incarnation is a necessitated act, predetermined for him by previous meritorious or deleterious acts. This, however, is only partially true. Hindus believe in a free will pari passu with, and in fact as a part and parcel of, the doctrine of Karma and transmigration. The fact of a new birth and the environments at that birth are due to previous Karma; but at that moment free-will is implanted, which has its operation when the person born arrives at sufficient maturity. When the scheme of transmigration plus Karma and free-will is thus interpreted, the non-recollection objection, as well as the non-moral objection, fall to the ground completely. Not only this, but on the contrary, the doctrine becomes essentially and radically a doctrine of morality and of moral responsibility, of mercy and of sympathy, which are extended to the lower animals in a way which no non-Hindu race shows. There is literally no adult Hindu to be found in India who does not believe in the household adage 'दया धर्मको मूल है, नर्क मूल अभिमान", "Sympathy is the root of Righteousness; selfishness is the root of Hell" Me and misunder-Hell." Mr. Haig is not singular in his misconstruction and misunder-

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standing. A scholar like Principal Archibald Gough, author of standing. A scholar line 2 miles and a host of other Europe and have comfort to similar error and have comfort to scholars have fallen into a similar error, and have comfortably thou that they have completely demolished the Hindu absurdity.

Free-will is another of those terms which are misunderstood differently interpreted, and it requires definition. Ernst Hatch in his "Riddle of the Universe," says:—"This bounds presumption of conceited man has misled him into making him the 'image of God,' claiming an eternal life for his ephemeral sonality, and imagining that he possesses unlimited freedom will." Man is conceited enough in all conscience, but the Hist idea of free-will seems to me to be different from the European idea which ignores previous life and previous Karma. The will is to the Hindu free, but not without the control of previous Karma or press environment. There is no inconsistency in this. To the in Englishman, freedom-loving European, this ought not only to perfectly intelligible, but most accordant with the conditions his civilisation. Freedom or liberty is not license or libertinism; it controlled by the individual, by the society in which he lives, all the circumstances in which he is placed. He is bound by all the laws and usages of those amongst whom he moves and has his being Even the Indian despot, in whose kingdom there are no written laws and whose will is law, and who is a near approach to what is popularly, though of course loosely, called arbitrary will, has a limit on that will, and has been known, in some rare cases, to have been so beneficent as to elicit the admiration and applause of the most constitutional and liberty-loving European. Mr. Beaman of the Indian Civil Service, who is a philosopher without being professed theosophist, gives a very fair idea of metempsychosist East & West for November, 1903. The unrealisable misery continuous suffering for an unimaginable period of time has staggered the practical genius of western thinkers; and I confess it staggers it stagger If Para Brahman assumed upon Himself a limitation that universe might be, and if the cardinal idea of that universe passage for an emanation of Himself through an inconceivable series of births, it is not all with of births, it is not cheering, even though it be coupled with distant prospect of feetings. distant prospect of final emancipation by the identification of the individual with the individual with the one and only Para Brahman. It is only a little

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less appalling than the Christian notion of a perpetual sentence of excruciating torture in the burning fire and brimstone of Hell. Why Christians should accept this latter doctrine and be terrified by the former, it is difficult to understand. The majority of mankind prefer to retain the creed in which they have been brought up. This is but natural. Familiarity is said to breed contempt; more often it breeds callousness, indifference, and a desire to put up with accustomed things and account for them anyhow.

In the midst of these difficulties which have existed for centuries, many of the most advanced and cultivated minds of the ancient and modern world, instead of taking shelter in any one or other forms of the conflicting phases of the doctrine of Immortality, have despairingly assumed an agnostic attitude as regards the doctrine itself or as to its phases. To know that we do not know is a great piece of knowledge and puts us in an attitude of humility as well as inquiry. One is on the road to the goal, if it has not been reached. But when one without reaching the goal unreasonably thinks or believes he has, a further advance is impossible. I feel there are good reasons for a belief in the immortality of the ego, the consciousness of myself, the consciousness that there are other conscious egos like my own ego, like my own consciousness. I feel that the ego had a previous existence: I feel that it will have a future one. But I do feel uncertainty as to the length of that future.

Is there any way of getting out of the difficulty in this case, where the best minds, the greatest religions which have satisfied millions of mankind, have differed? They agree that the soul, the ego, the principle of individual personal consciousness, is immortal; they also agree that the existence which is to follow the current life is immortal; but they differ as to its previous existence, and they differ as regards the nature of the existence in the coming stage. I have not come across an attempt to explain or reconcile the difference, or to find a way out of the difficulty. I will venture to make the attempt

Hinduism, with its endless cycles of activity and rest, Kalpa and Pralaya, symbolised in the popular mind by the notion of 84 lakhs of varieties of births, inculcates a belief, equally wide-spread almost, in the idea of Jivanmuktas. It teaches that a migrating soul

may reach in the currency of its present existence the highest so of evolution, and know itself to be identical with Para Brain. The Jivanmukta may eat and drink, speak and act as other me usual; he may do, as the Upanishads say, "as he chooses,"—no commit, if such a thing be possible, the gravest immoral act—re yet it affects him not, he is free. In this condition, he cannot be choose to be right in the popular sense, so say the commentators.

According to the doctrines of Buddhism, a man treading to right paths, and doing deeds of active benevolence, attains to Nirvana, the highest goal attainable. By Nirvana, I do not understate loss of consciousness, or annihilation or nothingness. It is perfect wisdom, Buddhism. It is the highest purpose of existence—a summum bonum. There appears to be some doubt as to the belt of the Buddhist in the immortality of the soul.

In Christianity, there is no such doubt about a future life. The existence is continued and continuous but bifurcated for ever fine the point of death, into one line of perpetual bliss and another eternal pain.

Aristotle has taught us the golden rule of the mean. We shi apply it here. We shall say that emancipation, salvation, moksh, the highest goal may be attained within a limited period of time, which may differ in different individual cases, according to the degree of evolution and development. I see nothing far-fetched in this, nothing inconceivable, nothing unreasonable, nothing which offends my more trust in the reasonable. This mode of interpretation need not conflict with the preconceived notions of any theologian, the prepossessions of any religionist or with the doctrines of any established religion. It is only necessary to look upon the interpretation with feelings of charity, in a spirit of reconciliation tending to enhance the practical value of each religion as well as dignity. It will is dignity. It will increase the sense of piety, the sense of reverent the sense of devotion, and sanctify the love of God to man and love of man to God to man and the love of man to God to man and the love of man to God to man and the love of man to God to man and the love of man to God to man and the love of man to God to man and the love of man to God to man and the love of man to God to man and the love of man to God to man and the love of man to God to man and the love of man to God to man and the love of man to God to man and the love of man to God to man and the love of man to God to man and the love of man to God to man and the love of man to God to man and the love of man to God to man and the love of man to God to man and the love of man to God to man and the love of man and t love of man to God, the essence of all religions, the principle of units versal religion. versal religion, which is in the heart of man by the very constitution of his being which it is of his being, which, if denied, deprives existence of its purpose, and makes everything the makes everything blank, vacant and meaningless. I shall believe that I may attain that I may attain my goal in a conceivably reasonable periodictime.

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In regard to the great religions of the world—Christianity, Mahomedanism, Buddhism, Hinduism—my attitude is one of perfect impartiality. There is great good in all of them; each has done and is doing important service to mankind in the course of its evolution. Though all may differ, there is a common ground of agreement in all. The present course of life determines the course of the future life, It will be good or bad according as! the present life is lived well or This universal principle is the point on which turns the wheel of life. It is the foundation on which rests the magnificent structure which each religion has raised upon it. It is the principle upon which rests the love of God to man, the love of man to God, and his motive-spring of adoration to that Being. Whether God be conceived as a Supreme Being who has given the initiative as well as the final impulse to the universe once and for all time through . The the laws which fixedly and unalterably work in the universe er from and aid the evolution of man, with his free-will and appropriate environment, or whether special interposition be a part of the divine idea, the basal idea is of moral progress. That idea of 'ought' need not come from above, or from without, or from what ksh, the is popularly called divine revelation, the Word of God. That idea is, , which in the present stage of evolution, part and parcel of the constitution egreed of man's nature, part and parcel of his environment, and every teligion which is the embodiment of the wisdom of its best profesy moral sors must help in developing the moral sense to higher stages, making the conduct of life less selfish and more altruistic; making man think less of himself and more of his fellow-beings not only in the affairs of the current life but also of the future, the existence of which all religions proclaim and affirm. It does not matter whether God is represented as a personal God, a Father, a Ruler, who is loved and adored as a tangible object of love and worship. Nor does it matter whether He is worshipped through an image, for it is absurd to suppose that the physical image is ever by any thinking being to suppose that the physical image is ever by any thinking is done. being regarded as an object of divine worship. All thinking is done by means of images, imagination being a necessary instrument of thought; a image recalls a number of ideas which are associated with it. Shankara, an uncompromising monist, the most decided holder of Advaita, of One without any second, is reported to have been a worshipper of idols, and to have seen in them symbols of the Deity, useful

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for the ignorant. A non-idolatrous religion, like the Protestants of Christianity, believes in man being made after the image of Does it mean that the Protestant conception of God gives H physical body, with a brain and a head, a pair of eyes, and of he a pair of legs, and so on? Not so, if I rightly understand that contion. To the militant European Christian, a symbol works works A rag of the national flag has induced many a one to offer his as a willing sacrifice for the good of his fellows and the successo cause, not his private personal cause, but the cause of his per his nation, the cause of his successors and his descendants. that cause of stimulation, that mode of representing his his ideal, be denied to the stigmatised idolator? The so-called ideal reverences Vithoba, and Shiva Linga, his Ram and his Sin course. He bows down before it as the Christian bends hish in reverence to the Throne of the King, to the Pope or to the R of his nation. The Throne and the Flag represent a power earth; the image and the Linga a power above the earth, highest, most supreme, the most adorable of all things adorable the most lovable of all lovable beings. The result is that am obsequious veneration is shown to the image, but that should us be mistaken, misunderstood or misconstrued, and never conder ed as it has been by professors of a different faith. A The Deist, a Christian or a Mahomedan, when in the act of prayer, ex necessitate rei, to think of something in the nature of a physical object on which to centre his devotion. He has to think mental image. Is that condemnable? Has it ever been conder ed? The tirade, then, against idolatry is unreasoning, unreasoning ungenerous, and futile. If some will profess to worship physidels in a idols in a gross sense, why, that only shows the state of culture; if others will use a mental image, that again shows the of their culture.

As to rites and ceremonies, it is the same. They are means attain an end. They may be necessary at one stage, another, useless at the next. Each group of men have their priate ceremonies of worship suited to the conditions of the shippers, at a particular stage of advancement. They may different times or under varied circumstances; they may men differing in their modes of thought, different in their modes.

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of living, different in a variety of ways. With this difference, the mode of worship, the mode of showing reverence to God may and probably must differ. But the difference is unsubstantial and is not of the essence of devotion. And to the essence, and to that alone, the significance of devotion attaches.

It is, therefore, unreasonable to require a uniform mode of devotion—one particular religion to approach the presence of the Supreme. All ways lead to the some goal, long or short, easy or uneven, smooth or thorny; and the journey may be long or short, comfortable or arduous. This is a matter of subordinate importance.

Being born a Hindu, and brought up in Hindu surroundings, I will give as briefly as I can my idea of Hinduism.

To the question, "What is Hinduism?" the first general and ready answer must be "All which is laid down for the spiritual benefit of a Hindu in Shriti, Smriti, Puranas, and Shastras." It is an excellent answer in the abstract, and on the surface. The body of doctrines contained in the Vedas, the Vedangas, the Brahmanas, Upanishads, Aranyakas, Sutras, Puranas, Ramayana, Mahabharata, Dharmshastras, Gita, is Hinduism. Here arises a natural and pertinent question. Did there exist at any time in the course of Hinduism a group of men who professed these doctrines without a substantial difference of opinion and practised them alike? I am not aware of such a time. But supposing such a time did exist, and that there was a group of men who professed and practised Hinduism in this way, there is no doubt that the present is not such a time. It may perhaps be also granted that in the historic past no such unanimity of doctrines and uniformity of their observance existed in a known group or race, or sub-race of Hindus. Differences were found to exist both in the doctrines and their observance, and it became necessary to lay down a rule of interpretation that in case of difference it was to be settled in the order of precedence of authority. The Vedas were of course given pre-eminence, Smritis came after, and Puranas next and so on. As differences began to increase with the spread of Hindus over larger areas, local customs, which arose from peculiarities of circumstances, gradually but surely began to be introduced and to have the force of doctrines. When at a later stage doctrines were differently interpreted or practised, they began to lose

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their force, and customs and usages came to acquire an ever increase their force, and customs and usages came to acquire an ever increase their force, and customs and usages came to acquire an ever increase their force, and customs and usages came to acquire an ever increase their force, and customs and usages came to acquire an ever increase their force, and customs and usages came to acquire an ever increase their force, and customs and usages came to acquire an ever increase their force, and customs and usages came to acquire an ever increase their force. ing binding force. Vaishavism, Shaivism, which at first were model in the first of distinctions and statement of the first of distinctions and statement of the first of the f worship of one God, assumed at first a distinctive and afternoon almost a hostile character. Later on, the initial modes of work multiplied, the original doctrines went on becoming vaguer a

vaguer, the distinctive peculiarities more vivid, local usages w established and firmly clothed in the garb of enfeebled doctries whose multiplicity and variance exceeded all bounds. At h present time custom is given unhesitating precedence to the dement of all which at one time was a body of religious doctries This was a fact for the Bombay Legislature to reckon with when 1827, usage was given precedence over the law of the parties. The was no escape from this irreligious position. The Gordian kcould not be untied and had to be roughly cut. At the time what it was cut, diversity was the ruling idea amongst Hindus, both as faith and its observances; custom had assumed the paramount which the Hindus as a body so readily recognised that not a six discordant voice was raised throughout the length and breadth of Hi dustan. On the contrary, that piece of legislation has been regard as a charter of Hindu religious freedom. The disintegration of H duism had gone so far that there was, practically, a different Him religion at the distance of every dozen miles, as is the case 105 There is no exaggeration of any sort or description in this statement It is painfully known and regretted by all who are in touch with

divisions of sub-castes.

To the question, therefore, "What is Hinduism?" the answer the present day can only be, "It is everywhere in India and nowhere what it is a constant of the control of the what it is everywhere is indeterminable; what it is anywhere particular is to be found in the body of customs prevalent in the grant of Hindus and the state of Hindus and H of Hindus amongst whom those customs are practised; the dotte that is professed. that is professed is immaterial, outward observance being the substance." Lobell substance." I shall not be liable to excommunication for profits anything, provided I conform to all the customary practices own sub-caste. Labelly anything of the customary practices of the cus own sub-caste. I shall be liable to excommunication for polygonna' (killer of 'goghna' (killer of a cow), who is spoken of in the Vedas of KHANDERAO C. BEDARKAR. approbation as a good host.

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THE MYSTICISM OF RICHARD WAGNER.

(Concluded from our last number.)

GREAT mystic has said that "the true philosopher . . A entirely loses sight of personalities, dogmatic beliefs and special religions." It is, in short, the mystic quality in any religion that is its soul-its inheritance from living and eternal Truth; and before this mystic Reality, as another writer (himself a Catholic Abbot) prophesied some seven centuries ago, forms will ultimately vanish. We shall do well to keep this thought in mind, when dealing with the exoteric setting of such a purely mystical drama as "Parsifal"; for so shall we realise, that beneath all the symbolism of East and West that has gone to its fashioning, it contains no formula that counts for its own sake. Each is employed as a means towards the same end, to inculcate the doctrine of sacrifice based on love which Wagner held to be the key to all knowledge and to all true progress. The mystic element in Christianity, which had been almost obliterated by the Churches, is separated from corroding associations, and joined to the purest mysticism of the East. formula that counts,—may be truly said: but if our examination of the drama should reveal to us depths of insight and suggestion that European thought has never of itself initiated, it is perhaps because Christian symbolism has been used by Wagner to convey eternal principles more deeply realised in the best thought of India than in the philosophy of dogmatic Christianity. With dogmatic Christianity Wagner broke at an early stage of his career; and for him, as shown in sunday, and the teaching of in sundry of his writings and letters, the essence of the teaching of Jesus, and the Jesus, and the essence of that of Buddha, were identical—part of the Same Truth over which his genius brooded throughout the working years of his life. years of his life. In a letter to Liszt (written in 1855) he alludes in this connection to the fact that among the early Christians "we still

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see distinct traces of the perfect negation of the will of life"; in the same letter he continues :-

The pity is that this deeper insight into the essence of can be gained alone by the abnormally organised man . . . In the state of the state to communicate this insight to others the sublime founders of relie have therefore to speak in images, such as are accessible to the common, men perception. In this much must be disfigured, although Buddha's in trine of the migration of souls expresses the truth with almost perprecision.

The artist also, in Wagner's opinion, did rightly to use family images, and to take them from all quarters where he saw what wanted for his purpose. Thus, while we have the baptism of Kunby Parsifal, taking place on Good Friday, while we have the Entle ristic Sacrament with its mystic commemoration of the death Jesus, woven into the texture of the drama, the idea, as also architecture of the temple of Montsalvat, is derived from the Ex and we find the Black Magician Klingsor invoking Kundry's att form by her names in past incarnations. Further, with reference the Grail Supper itself, this rite, as has been pointed out by Edouard Schuré, in a recent work,* has "a far wider signification than is generally granted or known . . . It is the conservation rejuvenation of a very ancient symbol of initiation." In "Wibelungen" essay, "World History as told in Saga," which is fine example of Wagner's power of interpreting the spiritual significant cation of history, we find the idea of the ascent of the "Ide Content" of the Nibelung Hoard into the Holy Grail. Put brief this evolutionary process may be described as the transference purely material power, as typified by the Nibelung's Hoard, into spiritual power symbolised by the Cup of the Grail. We thus disconninuous like in the control of the Grail. an inner link between the motive of the "Nibelung" drama, that of "D that of "Parsifal": catch too, by this conjunction, the echo deeper hint of man's ascending destiny as conqueror of Nature From Palestine, as Wagner reminds us in his essay, the cry to stee the Holy Tomb the Holy Tomb came to the ears of Friedrich I., at the month when he had free live and the ears of Friedrich I. when he had freed the Lombards, recognising in their revolt spirit of free Manhaeld spirit of free Manhood loosed from the nature-soil of race." goes on to tell be Discontinuous formatting and the spirit of the s goes on to tell how Friedrich was drawn on by a resistless force

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^{* &}quot; Jesus : the Last Great Initiate."

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Asia. In furthest India he had heard of a "Priest-King who asia. In there a pure and happy people, immortal through the governed a wonder-working relic called 'the Holy Grail.'" So the old hero girt him up, "with splendid retinue of war," marched through Greece to "furthest Asia," broke the power of the Saracens, and, being so set upon his Eastward quest, he would not wait for the buildpenig so so all bridge, and was lost to sight for ever in the stream which he attempted to cross on horseback. Thereafter legend told of a visit of the Keeper of the Grail to the Occident, bearing the holy relic with him, through which great wonders were performed. In the Nibelung's ancient seat, the Netherlands, Lohengrin, a Knight of the Grail had appeared; but, "when asked forbidden tidings of his origin"-like Eros, in the true myth of Eros and Psyche-had vanished. Then the old guardian of the Grail restored it to "the distant morning land; in a castle on a lofty mountain in India it was kept once more." And so, as Wagner adds,

The legend of the Holy Grail . . makes its entry in the world at the very time when the Kaiserhood attained its more ideal direction. The Grail . . . in the meaning lent it by the German poets, must rank as the Ideal representative or follower of the Nibelungen Hoard. . It is of first importance that its keeper was priest and king alike, that is, a Master (Oberhaupt) of all Spirital Knighthood, such as was introduced from the Orient in the twelfth century. So this Master was intruth none other than the Kaiser from whom all chivalry proceeded; and thus the real and ideal world-supremacy, the union of the highest Kinghood and Priesthood seemed completely attained in the Kaiser.

Such kinghood and priesthood are united in "Parsifal." Moreover, the whole conception of Klingsor, the Black Magician, as opposed to the White Knights of King Titurel, is of Eastern origin; and, if we trace out the inner significance of "Parsifal" in the light of Eastern ideas, we shall find between the lines still profounder evidence of what Wagner owed to their influence. Through such reading we shall realise how deeply his mind was saturated with the mystic teachings of the East. The story of Parsifal shows profound insight into the struggles, the sorrows, the mysteries of spiritual evolution. It is a story of initiation, consummated in the last act of the drama at the moment when the Spirit descends on the crowned Victor" in the form of a dove"... It is also noteworthy

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that the flowers in Kundry's garden are not so much remarkable their beauty, as for their size; giant growths, abnormal developments—such abnormal developments being a characteristic of plane of consciousness whence Wagner drew his inspiration for the scene.

In 1857, when Wagner was at Zurich, he sketched the plant a drama never written, but which is interesting both on account its direct proof of his sympathy with Eastern thought, and a because, in a sense, it may be regarded as the dim precursor of "Parsifal." For the knowledge which produced the groundwin of "Die Sieger"* was afterwards developed on less didactic lies in the last of the music dramas. The plot for "Die Sieger" involute in the last of the music dramas. The plot for "Die Sieger" involute the love of the Chandala maiden Prakriti for Ananda, to when she gives water at a well. The time is that of Buddha's last journed Ananda is filled with consternation and distress by her avowd Prakriti implores Buddha to consent to her union with Ananda The condition made by Buddha—which Prakriti at first fails to understand—is that she must share Ananda's vow of chastity. It conclude, in the words of Wagner's sketch:—

Ananda persecuted by the Brahmans. Rep roof against Buddhi commerce with a Chandala girl. Buddha's attack on the spirit of case. He tells of Prakriti's previous incarnation; she then was the daught of a haughty Brahman; the [Chandala King, remembering a formed existence as Brahman, had craved the Brahman's daughter for its son, who had conceived a violent passion for her; in pride and arregance the daughter had refused return of love, and mocked at the unfortunate. This she had now to expiate, reborn as Chandala, feel the torments of a hopeless love; yet to [renounce withal, and he led to full redemption by acceptance into Buddha's flock. Prakrianswers Buddha's final question with a joyful Yea. Ananda welcome her as a sister.

We have considered some aspects of what Wagner or consciously to Eastern sources, but if we revert to some early page in the history of his development, we shall find not only marked evidences of his unconscious bent towards mysticism, but two extraordinarily significant accidents of thought and choice his part, which serve to show how inevitable was the after direction of his genius. The most remarkable instance, because so entirely

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accidental, is to be found in the plot of his first drama, "Die Feen,"* composed by Wagner in 1833 at the age of twenty. At a still earlier age, Wagner had read and been captivated by the writings of E. T. A. Hoffmann, and in this author's work had found constant references to the Italian writer Gozzi, as "a perfect mine for librettists." So, to the tales of Gozzi he turned for the plot of his first libretto: and, as Glasenapp and Ellis point out in their "Life" of Wagner—"very characteristic of his profoundly artistic instinct, even in those early days, are his deviations from the original." The subject of "Die Feen" bears a strong resemblance to that of "Undine," and is also related to that of "Lohengrin." But although the original myth had suffered great distortion before it came into Gozzi's hands, Wagner

unconsciously, and led by nothing but his own artistic need, returned in his denouement to the prototype of all three legends, the old Indian myth of the love of Pururavas for the heavenly nymph Urvasi, whom he loses through breaking a pledge, and regains through penances, yet not so that she became his mortal wife, but he himself one of the divine Gandharvas. In various other points, despite his mediæval Northern scene of action, indicated by the choice of proper names, etc., we find our dramatist unwittingly adopting features of the Indian myth.

And, in a footnote, we read that "Wagner's fairies exactly correspond with the Gandharvas and Apsarases of Indian Mythology." Here we may also note an incident employed many years later in the "Ring," which finds its parallel in the great Sanskrit play "Sakuntalá" by Kalidasa, where the true wife appears before her husband whose remembrance of her is fatally overclouded by a charm. Siegfried loses all memory of Brünnhilde through the action of the "drink of forgetfulness" given him in the house of the Gibichungs. The latter incident may possibly be the result of Wagner's vast knowledge of literature, but the choice of it and its origin are interesting as showing the tendency of his mind. In the same way, the incident of Siegfried's slaying of the dragon Fafnir is charged with esoteric significance, based upon world-old and world-wide tradition. Wagner deals with the Scandinavian aspect of this mythical dragon-slaying, in his Wibelungen essay, tracing its

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development from the Solar Myths; and, if we follow the legend into the remote past of other lands—Apollo's slaying of by Python is a well-known example—we shall find it reveal ast deeper symbolism. For, in the words of another writer:—

The "Serpent" and "Dragon" were the names given to the "Wise Ones," the initiated adepts of olden times. It was their with and their learning that was devoured by their followers, whence the allign. When the Scandinavian Sigurd is fabled to have roasted the heard Fafnir the Dragon, whom he had slain, becoming thereby the wiss of men, it meant the same thing.

It will be remembered that Wagner's Siegfried accidentally tastes the blood of the slain dragon, on his hand, and therein becomes initiated into the inner language of Man and Nature. But fore this mystery of initiation, so simply attained by him who is fearless, the more sensational events of Siegfried's career become secondary—a thought suggestively expressed by M. Maeterlinds in one of his essays, where he speaks of it as "a brief instant wrested from eternal decrees." Through its light Siegfried slays Mime, his false guardian, whose thoughts he can suddenly read, and follow the bird whose music he now understands, to Brünnhilde's Rock.

"Music," writes Wagner, " is like a power in Nature which me perceive but do not understand"; yet the loveliness of the Siegfrie wood music is one out of countless instances of the manner in which Wagner employed that "power" as a veritable "language, not directly imitative, but imaginatively sympathetic with the emotional qualities of scene and character. It is impossible, within present limits, to do more than indicate the absolute union which exists between Wagner's dramatic ideals and their expression is the tone effects of his work. On purely technical grounds it known, by those qualified to judge, that Wagner "found music and later to and later to the feet and later to t Art, and left it a Language"; that he was a Tone Poet in the research that was a Tone Poet in the research sense; that music was for him the vehicle of the poet and dramation one; an organization of the poet and dramation one; an organization of the poet and dramation of the poet in one: an organic aid to the interpretation of what both with utter through the utter through the medium of a single artwork. There is affinity this ideal with the this ideal with the tradition of Æschylus, though, as will at once seen, in view of his seen, in view of his whole attitude towards life, Wagner did not see to restore archaic form to restore archaic forms, but, within the more complicated and more restricted bounds of restricted bounds of modern opportunity, to rouse Art's sleeping

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soul, helped in that endeavour by the traditions of a nobler age. And over the pursuit of this ideal his realisation of the mysterious And over the mysterious faculties of music increased with his power of using them. Comfaculties of the instinct of genius to go ever deeper, which Mr. pelled by Houston Chamberlain has remarked as a leading characteristic of his intellect, Wagner delved, until, like Melampus

Seeing nature and song allied. He drew the Master of harmonies, voiced or stilled, to seek him.

He was, as the same writer states, the expected Messiah of the Music Drama, the genius whose mission it was to discover "the organic relation between word and tone "†; and Wagner's own dictum that "the matter which the word-tone-poet has to express is the purely human, freed from all conventionality," at once brings out the close connection between his dramatic and musical ideals: they were, in fact, identical; their perfected expression, as already stated, being reached with the completion of the Nibelung drama. In it, as two exponents; of this work have justly said, "remains no trace of conventional operatic forms, but the music is entirely dictated, phrase for phrase, and even word for word (as in the Greek drama) by the dramatic poem."

In his beautiful and profound "Essay on Beethoven," which deals with the question of the metaphysic, as bearing upon the æsthetic value of music, we come on many passages which show that for Wagner music was, as a matter of conviction, the soul of Art. "We should not," he there says," go far astray if we defined Music as Man's qualification a priori for fashioning the drama." This thought is foreshadowed in the sentence of an earlier date; "that which music expresses is eternal, infinite, ideal; it does not express the passion, the love, the longing of this or the other individual in this or the other situation, but passion, love, longing, in themselves." Again, in his Autobiographical Sketch, is recorded the state of "wildest mysticism" produced in his mind at the age of fourteen, on a first reading of E. T. A. Hoffmann's works. "I had daydreams," he says, "in which the keynote, third, and dominant as hant, seemed to take on living form and reveal to me their mighty

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the wish for such a combination had been anticipated among Germany's greatest Alice Leich. H. C. Alice Leighton Cleather and Basil Crump: The Ring of the Nibelungs.

meaning: the notes I wrote down were raving mad!" Thus, "even in those early days," add Glasenapp and Ellis, "the boy's passion for music is not for the mere surface pleasure of agreeable tone. patterns, but to him they convey a definite, a plastic, or dramatic symbol." Enough has been said to show on what principle was built Wagner's conception of the Art of Tone: it would take a volume to illustrate the methods through which it has been put into effect, the actual fibre of his music, in the manner of its vocal deliv. ery,* in the curious ways by which its influence on the audience was calculated from a psychological standpoint. One chief feature must be mentioned, however, since the dramatist himself laid the utmost stress upon it. To the famous German architect Schinkel, Wagner owed that idea of a sunken orchestrat which appealed to him so deeply, not only for æsthetic reasons, but on account of the "mystic gulf," thereby established between the "Dream World" of the Tone Poet, and the outer world, consciousness of which he designed to efface from the minds of his audience by a species of artistic hypnotism. From this "gulf" the strains of the orchestra rise with magical effect; and an even more ethereal impression is given by the use of invisible choirs. No one who has heard it can recal, unmoved, the notes of that hidden choir which steal with unearthly softness, and a sweetness inconceivable, from the far heights of the dome in the temple scenes of "Parsifal."

If at this point we look back over the field of Wagner's ideals, intent on the consistency of their deeper trend, the inherent and unifying spirituality of his purpose, as artist, becomes abundantly plain. Everywhere, in Life, in Religion, in History, he sought the "real," as distinct from the "seeming": sought to expose the shams which he saw masquerading as realities before the eyes of a generation which boasted of a progress he was unable to affirm. "The day's false glitter," as he calls it in "Tristan," had no power to blind his vision, either to the horrors of the present, or to the limitles possibilities of the future. It was, in his view, the function of the Artist before all men to be courageous in his peculiar duty towards

* Tone Speech, as distinct from ordinary operatic rendering.

† In 1848, years before the erection of the Bayreuth Festival House, Wagner employed a concealed orchestra for the performance of his Cantata "Der Liebesmahl der Apostel, in the church at Dresden, and also invisible choirs in the dome.

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his fellows; on account of that deep, impersonal sympathy which is his by virtue of insight and intuition.

And the question then arises [to quote once more from the letters and the question then arises [to quote once more from the letters written to Liszt in 1855] what we see in this abnormal state, and whether our sympathy takes the form of common joy or common sorrow. This question the true men of genius and the true saints of all times have answered in the sense that they have seen nothing but sorrow, and felt not hing but common sorrow. For they recognised the normal state of all living things, and the terrible, always self-contradictory, always self-devouring and blindly egotistic nature of the "will of life," which is common to all living things . . .

Yet, in the final sense, as has been shown, Wagner was no pessimist; negation of the material being with him the first step towards spiritual affirmation. True, his philosophy belongs to what Prolessor James has designated the religion of the "Twice-born," as distinguished from the shallow, because so limited and insecure, religion of "healthy mindedness"; but he believed, as all true mystics by the very nature of their faith must believe, in the presence of the "saving remnant." And because of this belief, we find him embodying the essential teaching of Buddha and Jesus in his last drama; the teaching of a sacrificial love whose service is living in accord with laws too universally and fundamentally spiritual to be measured in detail by the standards of specific creeds. But while Perceiving this, we must not underestimate the main influences which helped to reconcile the soul of genius to itself. To these, the great peaceful library at Wahnfried—where a little image of the Buddha may also be seen—bears eloquent witness. Above the writingtable hangs a portrait of Arthur Schopenhauer, and on the shelves stand a collection of volumes from Sanskrit, which have the unmistakable appearance of once familiar friends.

ELSIE HIGGINBOTHAM.

^{‡ &}quot;Varieties of Religious Experience."

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THE ORDER OF THE COIF.

(Concluded from our last number.)

THE creation of the new Order of King's Counsel sounded, so to say, the death-knell of the Order of the Coif. It was as early as in 1604 that Bacon prevailed upon Queen Elizabeth to appoint him, and was actually appointed, "Queen's Counsel Extraordinary." Though this was a red-letter day for the great philosopher, it took both the bench and bar by surprise. Bacon was at the time neither a Sergeant-at-Law nor even a law-officer; he was merely an 'utter' barrister of Gray's Im. It was not so much the appointment as the fact that, at the time, Bacon was not even called to the Coif, which rankled in the breasts of the lawyers, and gave rise to what Roger North called a "dumb day." Bacon, however, pleaded that the great honour had been conferred upon him honoris causà, without patent, fee, or emolument. The Sergeant-at-Law could not but look upon his appointment with grave suspicion and uneasiness. But after the fall of the first "Queen's Counsel Extraordinary," he was again left in sole possession of his Coll and in the full enjoyment of all his privileges. Proofs were not wanting however, to show that this time-honoured institution had fallen upon evil days. The jealousy with which the Sergeant's privileges were regarded and the thoughtlessness with which he was deprived of some of them, the discountenance shown by later Chancellors and the indifference and ference and apathy with which the younger generation of lawyers looked upon it as also the upon it, as also the increasing number of appointments of a great number of barristers to the of barristers to the new Order of King's Counsel hastened the fall of the Coif. In spite of the Coif. In spite of the irreparable loss of the long-cherished privilege (the exclusive right) the (the exclusive right of pleading in the Court of Common Pleas), the Sergeant made a last of Sergeant made a last effort to retrieve his lost position. He questioned the legality of the made a last effort to retrieve his lost position. the legality of the warrant of April 25th, 1834, which had practically

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sealed the fate of the Order, and contended that even the Sovereign had gealed the late of the institution of what amounted to its raison d'être. After an elaborate argument and a good deal of wrangling, the warrant After all clauding, the warrant was declared invalid, and the Coif was given back its dearest privilege. The Sergeant was naturally jubilant over his success, but the victory was short-lived. His days were numbered. He had already had a presentiment of a worse fate that was soon to befall his Order. The Judicature Act of 1873, as we have already seen, proved its death-blow. It did not enact that no more Sergeants were to be created. It provided that no Judge of the Supreme Court need necessarily be a Sergeant-at-Law-taking away another privilege of the Coif. The Crown, it is true, was not dispossessed of its right to create new Sergeants, but, as a matter of fact, none were created; whereas the number of King's Counsel was steadily increasing. Total extinction would have proved more welcome to such a famous institution, which had seen better days, and whose passing had, at one time, seemed as the passing of the law itself." What the Sergeant felt most was the judicial vivisection, so to say, to which the Order was submitted in its declining days. When in 1834 the King's warrant threatened to deprive the Sergeant of his exclusive right of pleading in the Court of Common Pleas, a provision was inserted in it, by way of some solace to the Order, no doubt, to the effect that the existing members of the Coif should have precedence and pre-audience in all courts, next after the King's Counsel then in practice. But the Judicature Act deprived the Sergeant even of this crumb of comfort, with the result that the oldest Sergeant-at-Law was placed behind the youngest King's Counsel. The poor Sergeant's cup of woe vas full to overflowing. He could not, naturally, tolerate such an undeserved degradation, and bitterly complained of the injustice. "To them," wrote Sergeant Pulling at the time, referring to his brethren of the Coif, "certainly small justice has been meted out. Their old Pivileges have been taken from them, their position at the bar has been encroached upon, and their relations with the bench interrupted, and nothing by way of compensation has been provided for them." But it was all to no purpose. The Order of the Coif was then in its the exact disc and some measure, brought about its own fall. The exact difference between a King's Counsel and a Sergeant-at-Law is still surrounded in some mystery. In the first place, as we have already. bave already seen, the former is created by letters patent, while a writ the Great Seal usually summoned the Sergeant-at-Law to take degree, "under heavy penalties," unless the person so summoned

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was created a serviens ad legem. There was some difference in their dies also, which is worth noticing. The wig, to the ordinary eye, appeared and the King's Communication of the king's c also, which is worth also, which she King's Counsel's, the same full-bottomed, three-tailed peruke which was first introduced in England about Charles II.'s time. But those who knew where to low for the difference noticed a sort of black round spot on the Sergeant professional head-dress. This—or perhaps a fictitious patch of white which it concealed—was the time-honoured Coif, the distinctive feature and the badge of honour of this ancient institution. Again the King's Counsel always wore, and still wears, a black silk gon which is distinguished from that of an ordinary barrister by a square collar on the back. The Sergeants had, at one time, and until the death of the Prince Consort, many robes of various colours, including the black gown which they generally wore out of term and at nisi prin. Particular colours signified particular holidays, and it was de riqueur that these gowns should be worn on the prescribed occasions. For instance, the purple robe was used on Saints' days, while the gorgeous scalled was always worn "at the churching of the judges at St. Paul'siz Trinity term and at the Guildhall banquet." There is yet another important point of difference, which gave the Order of the Coils much independence of character. The King's Counsel, as the name implies, is supposed to be retained by His Majesty; and as the presumption is that the King institutes the prosecution in every case, the King's Counsel cannot take part against His Majesty by defend ing a prisoner without his permission. This was so formerly, but now the prerogative of refusal, like so many others, is hardly ever exercised At the present day, the title of K. C. denotes a mere rank precedence at the bar. On the other hand, the Sergeants were a free and a brave race, and were always prepared to defend the liberty any oppressed person and courageously defy the tyranny of Crown.

No history of the Order of the Coif could be complete which did not contain an account of the picturesque costume which marked the change from the degree of 'utter barrister' to that of Sergeant. The costume of lawyers has, from time immemorial, been most gorgeous, and even at the present day an "ermined sage," with his priest-like robe and scarlet hood, is a sight for the gods. But the habit of fourteenth century Sergeant is the envy of the present-day lawyed. What a magnificent costume his was, quaint and gaudy and sometimes even parti-coloured! The Sergeants wearing parti-coloured gowns may

sound very lawyers in adopted of Baron Poll went into r again. Al had been Not the costume. which take of the Gre King's Ser iveries, an ome cont time of He shown clad with white and appren striped or 1 li was mad made a Sen teremony coloured ro hat the ce emn ma bes from Then Jame pon his su Reeper tha nt new WI te time, or ae of the d report etempt of thes in the

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lawyer. netimes ns may ound very odd to the modern reader, who has been accustomed to see build very out in their simple and sombre wig-and-gown costume, dopted on the death of Queen Anne—a circumstance which gave Baron Pollock the opportunity to make the witty remark that the bar Bront into mourning at Queen Anne's death, and never came out of it gain. Almost from the creation of the Order, the Sergeant-at-Law had been a distinguished figure on account of his striking raiment. Not the Sergeant alone, but all lawyers were once noted for their Ostume. Dugdale quotes several extracts from old documents which take us back to the days of Edward I., showing that the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe was ordered to deliver to the judges and the King's Sergeants, for their summer and winter wear, several robes and iveries, and "miniver for the hood and white silk for the Coif." In sme contemporary illuminations which depict the law-courts in the ime of Henry VI., the judges of all the courts then in existence are thown clad in scarlet or yellow, * or mulberry-coloured robes trimmed white badger or lambskin, all wearing Coifs; and the Sergeants and apprentices of the law are also represented "in party-coloured robes, stiped or rayed, in some cases diagonally, and in some perpendicularly." It was made practically incumbent on every 'utter barrister,' on being nade a Sergeant prior to his elevation to the bench, to go through the ttemony in a solemn manner—a feature of this being the partiwho were drobes. Indeed, it was laid down early in the reign of Charles I. at the ceremony of creating Sergeants ought to be performed in a emn manner, and therefore their returning in their parti-coloured bes from Sergeant's Inn to Westminster should not be dispensed with. then James I. died in 1625, all the Justices' patents became void; whereon his successor, King Charles, signified his pleasure to the Lord teper that all in judicial places should retain their posts as before, Thew writs be issued. Charles I. created several new Sergeants at tetime, one of whom was Sir Henry Yelverton, who was also appointed of the Justices of the Common Pleas. In his introduction to an report of the period (temp. Chas. I.) Croke, C. J., recounts the tempt of Yelverton, J., to be dispensed from wearing parti-coloured made Mes in the procession from Sergeant's Inn to Westminster, and made to the Chief Justice that he might have his robe and Coif put upon the Transfer of the Transfe ously that I reasury of the Common Pleas. Yelverton pleaded, almost Treasury of the Common Pleas. Yelverton pleas—

The was not ready with the necessary paraphernalia—

^{*} These were probably Barons of the Exchequer.

"because of the suddenness of his calling,"—and he cited the precident and Chicken of Sir Edward Coke who, when created Sergeant and Chief Justice the Common Pleas, was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in Chancery and had his robe and common Pleas, which was sworn in the common Pleas, which was sworn in the common Pleas, which was sworn in the put on him in the Treasury of the Common Pleas, and was then let his party robes to the Common Pleas bar to make his count, and the took the oath of Chief Justice, all in one day. But the judges we not for a moment listen to Yelverton's request, on the ground that it re an exceedingly solemn matter, and one whose dignity was not to be derogated from on frivolous pretexts of that kind. "All the Justices," all Croke, C. J., "conceived it (Sir Edward Coke's) was not a precedent be followed, being part of the ceremony for the creation of Sergeats which ought to be performed in solemn manner; nor could it be me venient to suffer any more such examples." So poor Yelverton had to go through the sadly-delayed ceremony in the proper form, arrayeding in 'blue-brown'-which is an extraordinary colour and may be sm pected to have been purple—and afterwards in parti-coloured robes.

Croke, C. J., also describes the actual ceremony, and the graph description in his Introduction is worth quoting in full. The writs in the creation of the new Sergeants were issued in due form and theories of swearing them in was determined by agreement. Then began the pictures que ceremony which had best be described in the words of the eminent lawver:—

"On Tuesday, May 10, (1625), in the second week of the Term, to said Sir John Walter, being of the Inner Temple, Sir Henry Yelverto of Gray's Inn, and Sir Thomas Trevor of the Inner Temple, with the benchers, readers, and others of those Inns of Court, wheneof the respectively had been, being attended by the Warden of the Fleet at Marshal of the Exchequer, made their appearance at Sergeant's Inc. in Fleet Street, before the two Chief Justices and all the Justices of both the benches. And Sir Randolph Crew, Chief Justice, made a short speech to them, and (because it was intended they should not continue Sergeants to practise) he acquainted them with the King's purposed advancing them well in their several places. Then everyone in his order made his count, and defences were made by the ancient Sergeants and their several writs being read, their coifs and scarlet hoods were put on them, and being arrayed in their blue-brown gowns went to their chambers, and ollaboration chambers, and all the Judges to their several places at Westminster; and afterwards the said the afterwards the said three Sergeants, attired in their parti-coloured robes, attended with the later and the said three sergeants. attended with the Marshal and the Warden of the Fleet, the servents of the said Sergeont. of the said Sergeants going before them, and accompanied with the

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kenchers and others of the several Inns of Court of whose company they bed been, walked to Westminster and there placed themselves in the Hall over against the Common Pleas bar. The Hall being full, a lane was made for them to the bar; then (the Justices of the Common Pleas being only in court) they recited their several counts, and had their writs read, the first and third by Brownlowe, the Chief Prothonotary, and the second by Goulston, the second Prothonotary. Sir John Walter and Sir Thomas Trevor gave rings to the Judges with this inscription, 'Regi Legi write Libertas.' Sir Henry Yelverton gave rings whereof the inscription was, 'Stat lege corona.' Presently after (they all standing together) returned to Sergeant's Inn, where was a great feast, at which Sir James Lee, Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of Manchester, Lord President of the Council, were present."

Dugdale tells us that the colour of the robes of both Judges and Sergeants was continually changing, "both with the season and the Eshion"; hence it was that they were possessed of so many robes of different colours. Another pen-picture, drawn probably about Chaucer's ine, presents the Sergeants as wearing a scarlet gown parted with blue, wear-small stripes of red, and a hood which is white and furred, wearing a Coif, of course. "In 1555," we are told elsewhere, "each new Sergeant was possessed of one robe of scarlet, one of violet, one of blue and brown, one of mustard and murrey, with tabards (short sleeveless toats) of cloths of the same colour." Those Sergeants had a fine sense of the picturesque, to be sure! But the sombre black gown makes its ppearance as early as 1607, when we hear of "a grave man in a black (assock, like a counsellor." Some of the showy elements of a longlorgotten habit are still to be found in the administration of justice; these give a tinge of picturesqueness to the humdrum, dismal, colourless wurt-life of to-day. To leave out Fortesque's excellent description of te Judge's habiliment would render this part of our account incom-He represents this dress to be "a long priestlike robe with a ape about his shoulders, furred with lambskin; and thereupon an hood with two labels such as Doctors of the Laws used to wear in certain lawersities Universities, with a white coif of silk, closed upon his right shoulder; the other ornaments of a Sergeant still remaining, saving that his sture shall testure shall not be parti-coloured as a Sergeant's may, and his cape with mit. with miniver, whereas the Sergeant's cape is ever furred with white Only one item remains to be noted here, and this the Only one item remains to be noted here, and the cost the Sergeant's costume necessarily entailed. Suffice it to one instance, and that of a comparatively recent date,

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where a Sergeant's laced bands alone cost no less than one hundred pounds.*

The distinctive feature in the Sergeant's dress was, without doubt the Coif. The Coif, or the Sergeant's quaif, as it was called in forms times, dates from a very remote age, even before anything authentic is known of the Order. Its exact origin and introduction, like the birthe this institution, is lost in antiquity. Forming, as it did, the Sergean's head-dress, the dust of centuries in the Law's Lumber Room must have fallen the thickest on it: consequently, the origin of the Coif seems to be buried too deep for modern researches to discover. Many conjections tures have been made with regard to this "badge of honour" of the Sergeant-at-Law, but none can safely be relied upon. Mr. Francis Watt makes a guess which seems to be the nearest approach to the possible date of the introduction of this obscure emblem of a dead Order. "Our first lawyers," says he, "were churchmen, but in 1217 they were finally debarred from general practice in the courts. Many were unwilling to abandon so lucrative a calling; but what about the tonsure?" Quoting from a tract "On the Antiquity and Dignity of the Order" (1765), by the learned Sergeant Wynne, Mr. Watt adds:-"They (the churchmen) were for decency and comeliness allowed to cover their bald pates with a coif, which had ever since been retained." But this conjecture, that the coif originated in a mere monkish device to evade the ecclesiastical rules, finds little favour with no less distinguished an authority on the subject than Sergeant Pulling, who tells us an amusing incident to show how the above notion must have taken hold of a too imaginative mind. This incident is related by Matthew Paris. After the ecclesiastics were forbidden to 'count' in secular civil courts, a monk, John de Bussy by name, was sorry to lose a calling which filled his pockets plentifully. He seriously thought of devising an artifice to evade the tyranny of ecclesiastical rules, and yet remain a monk all his life. So, in a desperate moment, he got himself admitted to the Order of the Coif by concealing his tonsure with the Sergeant's 'quaif'! All went well, but unfortunately John de Bussy was led astray and his wicked device made known! Punishment was inevitable, but the shrewdness and subtlety of the lawyer combined with the stratagem of the ecclesiastic provided the monk with a good defence. He boldy discarded the coif (which must have created quite a stir in court), laying bare his bald pate, and in consequence entitling him to 'benefit of clergy' which were all the clergy's which were all the clergy with the clergy which were all the clergy with the cle clergy.' which was, then, the best defence of the cunning ecclesiastic

* Bench and Bar, by Sergeant Robinson.

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But even this trick did not serve the monkish lawyer, for he was given But even this One cannot help sympathising with poor John de Bussy! his deserts. Pulling says:—"The episcopal constitutions which so polibited ecclesiastics were first established only a few years before be incident recorded by Matthew Paris, and long after the Coif had ben in use; moreover, the Coif in the same form continued in use for ages after it could serve any such purpose as suggested, and the notion that the tonsure had anything to do with the form of the Coif is without foundation." We find all the judges and the Sergeants in the illuminations, depicting the law-courts in the time of Henry VI., wearing coifs. In its original form, the Coif was like the helmet of the Order of Knighthood, somewhat resembling the Templar's cap, generally made of white lawn or silk. In the thirteenth century, and perhaps much earlier the Coif covered the whole head, and was tied under the chin with ligaments. In the seventeenth century, however, it became a closehing skull-cap, for the string had been abandoned. The Sergeant was ever proud of his Coif, for, apart from the great distinction it conferred upon the wearer, it was treated as emblematic of great authority and independent power, so much so that it was not taken off even in the presence of the Sovereign.

In Tudor times, if not before, fashion made itself felt in court, requiring the Sergeant to wear a small skull-cap of black silk or velvet on the top of the Coif. This cap almost covered the Coif, so that the Sergeant's 'badge of honour' was not noticeable. The Sergeant's cap as, however, nothing to do with the black cap which forms part of the Micial costume of the day, and must also be distinguished from the The present-day 'black cap' is a square limp cap of black cloth, the four corners hanging down, worn by the High Court Judges Certain occasions, e.g., while sentencing a prisoner to death. It is de Coin martin de Coi be Coif), which continued in use until the rebellion. When the full-bettomed bottomed wig made its appearance, it could no longer remain pointed; tence it was flattened into its present form. The black cap forms a letessary appendage to the present day judicial costume, and is therally carried about by the judges when robed. It is popularly speed that Sphosed that this cap is nowadays worn by the judge only when he Risses senten. Risses sentence of death. But it is not so; for it is worn on solemn as as on State. But it is not so; for it is worn on State occasions, e.g., attending divine service in state, receiving the Lord M. occasions, e.g., attending divine service in state, while the Lord Mayor on November 9th, and, as we have just seen, while Robouncing death sentences. It is also a mistake to suppose tha

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the 'black cap' is worn by the judge while sentencing prisoner to death, as a sign of sorrow. The fact is that to black cap' is supposed to be "emblematic of the supreme pore wielded by the judge as the representative and executive of the monard and the nation "—in other words, it merely asserts judicial authors and supremacy. Moreover, a sentence of death inflicted by the july without wearing the 'black cap' will not render it invalid. It is ancient usage, and as such, is recognised and respected at the prese day. But even the black skull-cap had to give way, in course of time to a more formidable rival of the Coif, and that was the wig, which seems to have come to stay, The wig was probably invented by the courtiers of Louis XIV., who was possessed of an abundance of in flowing locks. As nature had not endowed the French courtiers with these, they appealed to Fashion, with the result that the wig was into duced. From France to England was no far cry, and the peruke ke no time in making itself fashionable, and even popular, in the latter country. About the end of the seventeenth century, the wig was introduced into England, and it has made a bold stand against the ravages of both time and fashion. Bishop Hall gives a lively account of the discomfiture of a courtier losing his periwig by a gust of wind a he raised his hat to bow to some ladies! At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the wig denoted great learning and wisdom, and was considered a symbol of respectability and culture. All who though themselves respectable and learned—and among these there were many who were neither the one nor the other-began to wear wigs; and the length of the peruke was supposed to be an index to the eminence of the person wearing it. The Bench and the Bar, deeming themselve both learned and respectable, (and properly too), soon followed in the wake of the fashionable; to-day, the wig, as everybody knows, form an indispensable part of the dress of judges and of the members of bar when clad in their professional habiliment. But the Coif fell for of the wig, as the latter wholly covered it up. The 'black cap, is immediate predecessor, had all but hidden the Sergeant's distinguishing badge, the ing badge; the wig now disguised it completely. The Coif, therefore did not half like the 'hideous' wig, but the wig remained firm. Sergeant-at-Law loyally clung to the Coif, and the Coif in its turn tenacionally street tenaciously stuck to his devoted pate. A happy thought soon brought about a reconciliation about a reconciliation, for it was suggested that a small aperture should be left open in the be left open in the centre of the Sergeant's wig, with a round black cap's white patch over it. white patch over it (representing the white Coif and the 'black cap').

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And in this phantom similitude of its former self, the Coif was to be seen and in this phase of the courts, until a year or two ago, where the intelligent foreigner pobably took it for the distinguishing mark of the Master of the Rolls. The lawyers have contributed largely towards the growth of English The lawy and Scott, to mention only two of the most illustrious mes, were both lawyers as well as authors: and their voluminous writigs, together with those of several others, disprove the assertion, somemes vaguely made, that law and letters do not flourish together. Moreorer, there has always existed a close communion between lawyers and playwrights. In fact, it is said that the first great English tragedy was mitten by two barristers of the Inner Temple, and played by the members of the Inn before Queen Elizabeth, on January 13, 1561. Beaumont and Congreve, not to mention more modern playwrights, both dramatists of repute in their day, belonged to one or other of the four Inns Court. And talking of drama in connection with law, whom should we fist turn to if not to the greatest of English dramatists, and one of the greatest of English poets, William Shakespeare? Shakespeare's knowledge flaw must have been encyclopædic, and it was always accurately and appropriately used. Lord Campbell, once the Lord Chief Justice of England, in his excellent book entitled, Shakespeare's Legal Acquirement (1859), vouches for the accuracy of his legal knowledge thus :- " While welists and dramatists are constantly making mistakes as to the law of marriage, wills, and of inheritance, to Shakespeare's law, lavishly as he Propounds it, there can be no demurrer, no bill of exception, no writ ferror." It is this wonderful accuracy in Shakespeare's use of all the tgal terms, allusions and metaphors, which is one of the best weapons in the hands of the advocates of the Baconian theory. Shakespeare aust have got an insight into the practical and theoretical knowledge of the law as administered in his day more by coming into contact with those lawyers and law-students of the Temple, who used to visit distoric taverns, such as the "Mitre" and the "Devil," and by listenof the Inc. of recent decisions, than by having kept terms at one of the Inns of Court or passing a few years at a country attorney's

Yet copiously as Shakespeare has written about law and lawyers, there is not a line, in all his thirty-seven plays, which tells us anything about the subject of this article. Not a single reference has he made to the Order of the Coif, not one word of praise or condemnation for this ancient institution. Scott has explained his own silence on the matter. "There was no great love lost between us," once remarked

Sir Walter Scott, evidently alluding to his great aversion to law, "all it pleased Heaven to decrease it on further acquaintance." But Shakespeare and Scott have nothing to say about the Coif, there is another and a much earlier poet who has immortalised the fourteent century Sergeant. Chaucer, the greatest of early English poets, ha left a most life-like and quaint picture of this "man-of-law" in his "Canterbury Tales." The hoary antiquity of the Order of the Coif, the halo of the glory that surrounded it in those days, as well as the picturesque ceremonies and curious formalities which were the observed at a call to the Coif, must have struck the fancy of the fatts of English poetry. It was not, therefore, likely that Chaucer would have left out from his beautiful picture-gallery, painted in graphic vers, such an interesting personality as that of the Sergeant-at-Law, And what a faithful picture of the Sergeant it is, too! History has given us glimpses of this extinct type of lawyer, and the modern antiquary has thrown some fresh light on the Coif. But Chaucer's description d the Sergeant-at-Law will live when the Order itself is forgotten.

Thus has the mediæval poet painted the fourteenth century Stree geant in his wonderful series of beautiful cameos in the "Canterbuy Tales":—

" A Sergeant of Lawe, war and wys, That often hadde ben atte parvys, Ther was also, full riche of excellence. Discret he was, and of great reverence: He semede such, his words weren so wise, Justice he was ful often in assise, By patente, and by pleyn commissioun; For his science, and for his heih renoun, Of fees and robes hadde he many oon. So gret a purchasour was nowher noon. Al was fee symple to him in effecte, His purchasyng mighte nought ben enfecte. Nowher so besy a man as he ther nas, And yit he semede besier than he was. In termes hadde he caas and domes alle; That fro the tyme of kyng William were falle. Therto he couthe endite, and make a thing, Ther couthe no wight pynche at his writying; And every statute couthe he pleyn by roote. He rood but homely in a medle coote,

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This picture—it is almost a portrait—of the Sergeant-at-Law is not a fanciful one; it is not merely a caricature that Chaucer has drawn in order to complete his series of the Canterbury pilgrims. The poet had made a careful study of this particular type of lawyer. Chaucer had himself played an important part in many a legal suit. The records of those days, still preserved, bear testimony to this, and the records tell no untrue tale. But here Chaucer's connection with law, and his association with the then existing legal institution, must cease.

Chaucer's 'man-of-law' is not an apprentice or a struggling lawyer; he has already secured some reputation as a sound exponent of the laws and an advocate of no ordinary abilities and forensic power. For, the poet tells us that his 'renoun' was 'heih' and also that—

"Of fees and robes hadde he many oon."

He was also held in high esteem; and, as regards his great learning, there can be no doubt. Not only did he know all the statutes of the realm by roote, but had all the decisions and judgments from the time of William the Conqueror by heart. His conveyancing skill must also have been perfect, for, in the poet's own words:—

"Ther couthe no wight pynche at his writying."

This seems rather an obscure line, but probably it means that Chaucer's Sergeant-at-Law was so clever at drafting deeds, wills and such other conveyances that no one could find a flaw in any of them which might lead his client to litigation. In spite of his great learning and renown, Chaucer's lawyer was a very modest man indeed, for:—

"He rood but homely in a medle coote"; he rode thus in a medley coat, not because he could not afford to move about in a better raiment—for, of robes, "hadde he many oon"—but because he was so full of that childlike simplicity which has ever been the characteristic of many profound lawyers, for instance, Lord Brougham. Chaucer, in whom the sense of humour was strong, could not help having a joke or two, on the sly, at the Sergeant-at-Law. He tells us that his 'man-of-law' was a busy man, full of work and more than full of briefs; but he then adds, sarcastically:—

What a charming touch of gentle humour do we find in this sly observation, and yet how totally devoid of any sting of acrimony in it!

In the unceremonious parlance of the day, another man would have expressed this characteristic of the lawyer in one brutal word, "fusty—a type of lawyers not yet extinct! Every line of this word-pictus of the Sergeant-at-Law serves as a subject for a long dissertation, as interesting notes could be written on many of the quaint words at phrases made use of by Chaucer; but that would be beyond the score of this paper. There is one point, however, in this sketch, which worth noticing, inasmuch as it illustrates a curious old custom rigidly observed at every call to the Coif, as late as in the seventeenth century. Chaucer speaks of his "war and wys" Sergeant-at-Law—

"That often hadde ben atte parvys."

Now this 'parvys,' or 'pervise,' at one time, meant the porch of the church, but afterwards it came to signify the name of the Cathedral now known as "Paul's Walk" or "Duke Humphrey's Walk," so called because Duke Humphrey was supposed to have been buried there "In Tudor times," says Mr. Watt. "it was the great lounge and common newsroom of London. Here the needy adventurer 'dined with Duke Humphrey,' as the quaint euphemism ran: here spies garnered in popular opinion for the authorities." This point evidently refers to a very old custom which is explained by Fortesque in his lecture "De Laudibus Legum Anglicae." Like the origin of the Coif, the introduction of this custom is lost in antiquity: but there can be m doubt that it was observed at a very early date. In those days the court hours were very early; the judges then used to sit from eight to eleven, after which hour the Sergeant would bolt for his dinner, and hasten himself to his allotted pillar at St. Paul's to hold consultation with his clients, who had already betaken themselves to the 'pervise and "take notes thereof upon his knee." It is probable that Chaucel himself was at this very spot—"the very place for the lawyer to meet his client "-watching intently the bustle of busy lawyers, and the anxious, inquiring looks of the clients. It was quite in keeping with the wonderful tenacity of old customs and usages that even in the seventeenth century the members of the Coif, on new Sergeants being created to their Order, used to accompany them to St. Paul's, allotting to each his proper pillar, so that his clients might know where to find him. According to Fortesque, these newly-appointed Sergeants-at-Law generally went, after their feasts, "to St. Paul's in their habits, and there chose their pillar, whereat to hear their clients' cause, if any comi. For centuries, this porch was the rendezvous of legal luminaries; but in later years. in later years, the lawyers were wont to congregate even at the round

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Fron how diffe world, in on the ' u the exclu Dickens, away, the greatest three year Coif ceas England. val times theless, admiratio than in institutio members regard ;] "Pickwie eloquence Dodson and his c in Dicke of Pickw these tw Like Cha has hims office of David (Was pick "hope s had gair of his c little mo uld hate

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of the Temple Church and at Westminster. All these customs have of the rolling of the repair lawyers after now vanished. To St. Paul's Cathedral no longer repair lawyers after out hours, except, perhaps, for divine contemplation and meditation. Chaucer's Sergeant must have disappeared not much later than the fourteenth century, and although the whole race is now practically extinct, he will ever live in the pages of the "Canterbury Tales."

From Chaucer to Dickens is a leap of nearly five centuries—and bow different do we find the Sergeant-at-Law with the rest of the world, in the days of the great humourist! No longer does he stand on the 'upmost round' of Fortune's ladder, no more does he 'count' to the exclusion of the 'utter barrister' in the Court of Common Pleas. Dickens, however, was not destined to see the last of the race pass away, though the twilight of its glory was fading even while the greatest of modern English humourists was breathing his last. It was three years after the death of Charles Dickens that the Order of the Coif ceased to exist as the most ancient and honoured institution of England. The historical and literary figure of the Sergeant of mediæral times had then lost much of its picturesqueness and glory. Nevertheless, the Sergeant-at-Law was a person worthy of respect and admiration, though in the nineteenth century he lived more in fiction than in history. Dickens had too great a regard for all ancient institutions that had once seen better days, to treat lightly the members of the Coif. Chaucer's 'man-of-law' claims our respectful legard; Dickens' lawyers, including, of course, the two Sergeants in the "Pickwick Papers," give us a deal of amusement by their bombastic eloquence and supercilious demeanour. We need only mention Messrs. Dodson and Fogg and their clerks, Tulkinghorn, Sampson Brass, and his clerk Dick Swiveller, and a host of lawyers, who are represented in Dickens' "Bleak House." Sergeants Buzfuz and Snubbin alone, of Pickwickian fame, deserve more detailed notice. Dickens caricatured these two Sergeants in his own inimitable style of boisterous humour. like Chaucer, he had come in personal contact with lawyers. Dickens, has himself drawn the life-like picture of a little boy who worked at the Office of a Gray's Inn solicitor as clerk at a very modest weekly salary. David Consultation of a Gray's Inn solicitor as clerk at a very modest weekly salary. David Copperfield, who was no other than Charles Dickens himself, Was picked up by a legal acquaintance when, in Mr. Micawber's words, hope sunk beneath the horizon." It was in this office that Dickens and gained ded gained most of his knowledge of law. During a year and a half of his clerkship—a period which he ever after remembered with not a mortification approach to the sufficient knowledge little mortification—the great humourist picked up sufficient knowledge

of law and lawyers, "to fill a whole chamber in his gallery of characters." A fuller and more humourous character than Snubbin's is that of Sergeant Buzfuz. But who has not read the trial of Bardell in Pickwick, or, better still, all the "Pickwick Papers"? And who will ever forget the speech of Sergeant Buzfuz and the examination of Sam Weller?

Eminent Sergeants who have figured in the Parliamentary, legal, and literary history of England during more than a thousand year, may be forgotten; the world may have no knowledge of the Order of the Coif a century hence: but Sergeants Snubbin and Buzfuz, in company with Chaucer's immortal 'man-of-law,' will live as long as English literature lives.

PHIROZE B. M. MALABARI.

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BENGAL UNDER THE MAHOMEDANS.

THE Hindus had long ruled over Bengal, but, as is the case with all mundane affairs, signs at length appeared which boded ill of them. From before the close of the twelfth century a rumour had got abroad that Hindu rule would soon come to an end. It does not appear bw the rumour arose, but there is no doubt that it spread far and nide. Even the king's palace with all its walls of stone and steel was utimpervious to it. Old as Lacksmaniya was, he soon became alarmed, adconsulting the learned Brahmans of his court, as was his wont, he soon find to his great regret that the rumour had good ground to rest upon. These so-called sages, who pretended to be adepts in the art of predictfuture events, instead of trying to remove the anxiety of the wereign, considerably added to it. It would appear from their sacred toks, said they, that the time was well nigh at hand when Hindu wereignty should give way to Mlechcha domination. Thus, a lamentable dange came over the country in consequence of their ominous vaticina-This despondency, general as it was, hung like a dark cloud and hople's minds were greatly confused. About this time Bakhtiar Khilji, of the veteran generals of the Emperor of Delhi, had started on his anquering expedition towards the east. Though one of the most ugly will-formed of men, Bakhtiar possessed many great qualities of mind with more than made amends for his repulsive exterior. His was a successful march. District after district fell before his triumphant tins. In this way he reached the borders of Behar, and it was not long before that stronghold of Buddhism came under his sway. He then deadjoining D. time, looking out for a fit opportunity to pounce upon the adjoining Province. The despondent tone of the people in general, and of the Ir. of the Hindus in particular, favoured his cause, and he deemed the portunity too good to be lost. But he did not come upon the country bumps: the bumptious, blustering manner of military conquerors. In comhay with a few faithful followers, he in a manner stole into the capital

which was then at Nadia, that classic seat of Hindu learning without for having managed to get into the royal residence without firing a shorty unsheathing a sword, he took the king completely by surprise, who hot haste fled from his dear old abode, and taking a swift-sailing boat was soon out of the enemy's reach. In the meantime the main boat of the Afghan army had come up and joined the lucky general in heart of Nadia. No opposition worthy of the name was made, and capital over which Hindu banner had floated the air for such a leeperiod, fell an easy prey to Afghan ambition. Thus Bakhtiyar made: glorious beginning, and extremely dashing as he was, soon followed up with fresh conquests. Many places which formed parts of the Hinds kingdom lay prostrate before him in rapid succession, and his fame a the Roostum of modern times resounded from one end of Hindustanto The Emperor, highly pleased with his brilliant militan the other. successes, bestowed on him several marks of favour which only urgel him on to the winning of fresh laurels. His name thus became a term in the eastern India, much as that of the lion-hearted Richard in the brave days of the Crusades.

Bakhtiar had subdued considerable parts of Bengal and Behar, but like many another conqueror he did not live to introduce order in them. That was left for his successor, Shiran, to do, who divided the bulk of the conquered territories on feudal principles. Large grants were made to the Khilji chiefs for the support of their troops, who in their turn sub-divided the lands among the soldiers forming their respective corps. As these chiefs and soldiers were too proud to engage in other labours than the manly exercise of arms, the economic management of the country was not disturbed. Thus, agriculture, manufactures and mercantile business remained as before in the hands of the conquered Hindus, and, be it said to their credit, all these industries flourished under their fostering care.

Bakhtiar had established Devcote* as his capital, but Ghayas uddin removed it to old Gaur. The latter invaded North Mithila and compelled its king to purchase peace with glittering gold; but the conquest of that romantic region was not made until 1240. Two of three years after Minhaj-uddin visited Bengal for the purpose of collecting materials for his history, and he has stated in his Tabakati. Nasiri that at the time of his visit the descendants of Lacksmaniya weter still reigning in Banga. The same officer that governed Bengal also governed Behar. After Ghayas-uddin's revolt the emperor appointed

* Abode of the Gods.

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Janee to the government of Behar; but on his return to Delhi this arrangement was upset by Ghayas-uddin who retook Behar. The well-known Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, who was in India towards the close of the 13th century, states that in 1272 an army sent by the great Tartar monarch, Kublai Khan,* defeated the king of Bengal; but the province was not brought under his sway. Marco Polo testifies to the prosperous condition of the country. After speaking of the big burly gayals that were found wild in the eastern parts of the province, he goes on to say:—"The inhabitants live upon flesh, milk and rice, of which they have abundance; much cotton is grown in the country, and trade flourishes. Spikenard, galangal, ginger, sugar, and many sorts of drugs are amongst the productions of the soil, to purchase which merchants from various parts of India resort thither."

In the beginning of the 14th century, East Bengal was conquered by Bahadur Shah, son of the Bengal governor, Shums-uddin Firoz Shah, who formed it into a separate government with Sunargaon† as its capital. This conquest was followed a few years later by that of Satgaon,‡ thereby effacing all traces of Hindu sovereignty in Bengal. All parts having thus come under the rule of the Afghans, the whole was for the first time named Bangala or Bengal.

In 1338 on Behram Khan's death, his armour-bearer, Fakhr-uddin, usurped the government of East Bengal; and some time after, West Bengal was also taken possession of by Ala-uddin Ali Shah who, having built Perna, otherwise called Ferozabad, removed his capital thither. But though the country was in a state of confusion, still its condition was now the less prosperous as appears from the accounts of Ibn Batutá who travelled in Bengal about this time. From the Maldive islands this celebrated African traveller sailed to Bengal, which he describes as an extensive and fertile country, and he says that he "never saw a country in which provisions were so cheap." He journeyed on by the Blue River (Brahmaputra), the banks of blich he found covered with gardens, mills and villages, "which it refreshes and gladdens one to see, like the Nile of Egypt"; and at last attived at Sutirkawan (Sunargaon), whence he sailed for Java, the Java dripa (Rost. designation (Sunargaon), whence he same to such that (Sunargaon), whence he same to such that (Sunargaon), whence he same to such that (Sunargaon) the same to such that the same in revolt that was in revolt Resent himself to the king of East Bengal, as the latter was in revolt

This emperor has formed the subject of a beautiful poem by Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

The Golden City.

More properly Saptagrama, a city consisting of seven villages.

This city must not be confounded with Pandua, commonly called Perna, in the district

against the emperor. He also states that regular horse as well as for posts existed under Muhamed Taghluk. Thus, the credit which is usually given to Shere Shah of having introduced horse posts in India in reality not due to him.

In 1346 Ala-uddin Ali Shah was murdered by his foster-brother Haji Ilyas, who in 1353 also took East Bengal. Thus Ilyas, and not Fakhr-uddin, as is commonly believed, was really the first independent

Mahomedan king of Bengal.

Haji Ilyas would seem to have built the strong Ekdalla Fort in which he and his son successively defied the Emperor Firoz Shah III, who having failed in his repeated efforts to conquer Bengal, recognised its independence. Haji Ilyas had extended his kingdom as far at the Gundack.* South Behar, however, remained under the Delia Governors until 1397, when Khwaja Jehan, the founder of the famous Jaunpur Kingdom, subdued it and annexed it to his own dominions. During the reign of its third king, Ibrahim Shah Shurky, Jaunpur reached the summit of power and opulence, so much so that its court outshone that of Delhi, and was the resort of all the learned men of the east. This kingdom extended along the Ganga from Kanauj on the north-west to the frontier between Bengal and South Behar on the south-east, and after having lasted for about eighty years was at last overturned by Behlole Lody, who in 1474 restored it to the Delhi Empire.

The kings of the Ilyas Shahi dynasty were as a rule not tyrants. Indeed, the condition of the people in ordinary times did not show any sign of oppression. The historian of Firoz Shah expatiates on the happy state of the country from 1351 to 1394, and records with pride that "every ryot had a bedstead and a neat garden." And not only were the common necessaries amply provided for, the conditions of civilised life also had their due share of attention given them. The cultivation of learning, both secular and religious, was encouraged, and hence we find it recorded that in the 14th century Sunargaon was renowned for its sages and saints. Architecture was not allowed to be neglected. Many public buildings were erected, of which the Adina Masjid,‡ built by Sikandar Shah, was the most remarkable. The houses of the common people were also bettered and exhibited

† This superb mosque is now in ruins.

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^{*} So called from its waters giving rise to that ugly throat-disease called Galagand by the Hindus and goitre by the English. It is a holy stream, and abounds in Salgrama stocs which are worshipped as idols.

† Anciently called Magadha.

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BENGAL UNDER THE MAHOMEDANS

quantity of furniture which is seldom found in ordinary huts and cottages. The use of gold and silver ornaments by the women was not an uncom-

The Ilyas Shahi dynasty was superseded by Raja Ganesh in 1407. He and his son and grandson reigned in all forty years, after which the llyas dynasty was again raised to power. Ganesh's son, Jehal, built many edifices, both at Perna and Gaur, which bore his honoured name. During Jehal's reign, the Assamese subdued north-eastern Bengal as far 18 In the Ilyas Shahi line ended in 1488, and was succeeded by the Abyssinian dynasty which lasted till 1494, when Hossen Shah became king. The Venetian traveller, Nicolo di Conti, travelled in India in the 15th century. He visited Bengal about the year 1420, when he found the banks of the Ganges covered with towns amidst beautiful gardens and orchards. After passing four famous cities, including the newly-built mint-town, Sharh-i-Nan, the Cernove of the Portuguese witers, he at last reached Maarazia* (the Mourcha, of the Abbe Raynal, at the confluence of the Padma and the Bhagirathi), which he describes as a powerful city abounding in gold, silver and precious

While Bengal was under the Hindu kings, the Sanskrit language was in general use, but after the conquest of the country by Afghans it was confined within narrow limits, in consequence of its receiving little or no encouragement from the ruling Power. The Prakrit, an easier orm of Sanskrit, was the language of the common people, and it was y its admixture with the rude dialect of the country, which had been in the from before the Aryan settlement that the Bengali language was brmed. It is not known when this formation took place. Probably it vas of gradual growth, starting from about the time of the Mahomedan Bidyapati, who flourished at the Court of Raja Shiva Singh Mithila, is generally considered the first of Bengal poets; but judging tom the comparative polish and purity of his diction, one would be lithrally inclined to think that if he was the first to gain renown in Bengali, he was certainly not the first to write in it. Bidyapati had a was certainly not the first to write in it. Both these were in Chandidas, who was a native of Birbhum. Both these Mets were Brahmans and were sincere worshippers of Vishnu, and they the language songs on the mystic amours of Radha and Krishna the language of Chandidas is for the most part pure Bengali, while that of Bidyapati is considerably intermixed with Hindi words and

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a Mr. R. C. Dutt, in his popular History, has identified it with Mongyr, but this is clearly a

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phrases. The age of Bidyapati and Chandidas is justly deemed initial period of Bengali literature.

A few years after the death of Bidyapati and Chandidas, there are at Navadwipa a genius who from a common Sanyasi became one of the greatest religious reformers that the world has ever seen. Chaitann began life as a family man, but before he reached mature manhood, he took holy orders and turned his whole attention to leading his mis guided countrymen to the right road to salvation. Hossen Shah was the king of Bengal. His was a happy reign, during which there was no rebellion or insurrection among his subjects or soldiers. It is true he made some conquests in the east of his kingdom but ambition was not his ruling passion. He was decidedly a mand peace and made considerable improvements in his dominions. Hebuilt some new roads and repaired the old ones which had been constructed by Ghayas-uddin. All these roads are still in existence in some forma other, and go under the name of Hossenee Ràsta. The strong fort d Ekdalla he made his residence; but the capital of his kingdom was Gaur, near which he built a mint-town, which he named Hossenabad alter him. In matters of religion he was tolerant. Chaitanya was allowed to have his own way without let or hindrance. As the new religious was founded upon universal love and preached the popular worship d one God, it was hailed with great joy and enthusiasm, as being in ever way preferable to the Tantric rites which were in use. It is gratify ing to observe that while Chaitanya was making converts to his 167 faith in such large numbers, his two most eminent fellow-students were also doing immense service to the cause of humanity in other respects The one-eyed Ragunath Shiromani established a better system of logic and mental philosophy, and raised Nadia to an enviable eminence before which even Benares and Mithilá bent their humbled heads. And Reghunandan Bhattacharya, better known as Smarta Bhattacharya, composed treatises on Hindu law and custom, which have ever since served as guides to the daily life of the Hindus of Bengal. All these circult stances supply ample proofs as to the happy condition of Bengal, which has been directly testified to by Barbosa and Bartema, who travelled it it in the beginning of the 16th century.

Hossen Shah was succeeded by Nasrat Shah. The latter recovered Behar from Delhi, and built among other edifices the Soni Musjid and Kudum Rusool. † During Nasrat's reign the Moguls became lords

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Iusjid ' e lords Hindustan in the place of the Afghans. With the death of Mahmud of Hindustan Bengal lost its independence and was re-annexed to the Shah in 1537, Since the fall of the Inanpur kingdom, South Behar had allalong been a viceroyalty under Delhi, except for some years when it was ruled by king Mahmud. On Mahmud's death, his Vizier, Shere Khan, became regent to his minor son, Jelal, and afterwards took it with Bengal in 1538. With the accession of Shere Khan to the imperial throne, Bengal and Behar reverted to their position as pronaces of the Delhi empire. Shere was the son of the Jaghirdar of Sahseram and Tanda. Able as he was, he rose in the service of the Behar king, and ultimately became his prime minister. The next step placed him on the imperial throne. Shere Shah constructed several highways, re-introduced horse-posts, and effected many improvements in revenue matters, which afterwards formed the basis of Akbar's great mancial reform. He divided Bengal and Behar into districts, in which teplaced officers who were quite independent of each other. But this silutary system was upset by his son, who appointed only two officers, me to Bengal and the other to Behar. Afterwards, these Governors, lorgetting their sense of duty in the enjoyment of uncontrolled power, proclaimed independence. Soliman managed to hold both Bengal and Behar, and as he acknowledged nominal allegiance to the Emperor, he was not disturbed in his rule. Orissa had all along been governed by it Mative kings, but Soliman conquered and annexed it to his dominions in 1567. About this time Cæsar Frederick travelled in Bengal. Satgaon was then in its glory, and the traveller speaks of it in fitting terms. Then passing into East Bengal, he crossed over to the island of Sandwip * which he has described as a highly fertile and well-populated place. Other Arts of Bengal also wore a smiling aspect. Indeed, the Afghan rulers threw no obstacles in the path of progress. The religion promulgated by Chaitanya was followed up in right good earnest by his disciples and Mowers, who composed many works both in Sanskrit and Bengali, exbunding and illustrating the tenets of the Vaishnava religion. Rup Gossain alone wrote twelve or thirteen treatises, and his brother Sonativalled him in that respect. Other Vaishnava writers also made to the vaishnava writers also made to the vaishnava writers also made onsiderable additions to the literature of the country. Jib Gossain Reindaban Das Tought out it is after Chaitanya's death, and Brindaban Das blought out his Chaitanya Bhagbat about fifteen years after. In the heantime, Krittibas had prepared a popular translation of the Rama-Jana; and to crown all, Mukundaram Chakravarti, who bore the

^{*} An island abounding in San grass.

sobriquet of Kabikankana, gave to the world his well-known poem, to Chandi, in 1567. When the times were so very favourable, the Portuguese made their settlement in Bengal, and carried on a busy trade which soon raised them to power and wealth.

Thus the Afghan rule in Bengal proved beneficial to the country. Agriculture was left to the subject race and it flourished under their kindly care. Indeed, the abundant produce of Bengal fields well earned for it the proud title of the Egypt of Asia. Behar also fared well in this respect, and the Ain-i-Akbari states that agriculture was in a prosperous state in that province, and that the excellence of its rice was quite without a parallel. The duty of collecting rents from the ryots was entrusted to Hindu landlords, some of whom afterwards acquired considerable power and influence. Trade had been pretty brisk in the hands of the people, and what little was wanting to complete its full maturity was afterwards supplied by foreigners. Manufactures were improved and extended. The excellent products of the Bengal loom were prized not only in India but also in Europe. In this respect East Bengal stood pre-eminent. The fine beautiful cloths of Dacca and Sunargaon had a very widespread reputation.

While the old national faith was allowed to have its usual cours, a refined system of religious reform was introduced, which silently, though not the less rapidly, wrought a great change in the religious feeling of the people. As a necessary consequence of all this, proselytist to Islam almost became a thing of the past. Hindu philosophy was cultivated on better principles, and Sanskrit learning received considerable additions and improvements. The Bengali language was also formed and gradually developed, and several works were composed in it, some of which are read and appreciated up to this day. There were it is true, occasional acts of oppression, but those were few and fall between. Indeed, the normal state of the country was peaceful, and signs of plenty and prosperity were visible in whatever direction the example of the country.

In the last quarter of the 16th century, the Afghans were upset by the Moguls, and Bengal, Behar and Orissa were annexed to the Mogul empire in 1578. But the land longed in vain for peace. Indeed, the Afghans still continued to give trouble, and it was not till the beginning of the 17th century that they were finally crushed for all time to come. Taking advantage of the disturbed state of the country, several zemindars rose up in revolt and managed their estates as if they were the absolute rulers thereof. These zemindars are known in history as the

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Bhuyas or twelve lords of the land. Of the several Europeans who Bara Bunyas of the Bengal in these troublous times Ralph Fitch and Francis fernandes were the most important. The accounts which they have left us plainly show that the Bhuyas were virtually the lords of East Bengal. The most powerful of these Bhuyas was Isá Khan, in whom the veteran logul general, Raja Man Sing, found a tough opponent, and it was log before he could be made to submit to the imperial authority. Man Sing founded Rajmahal and made it the capital of the three provinces he was ruler of. As Orissa was still harassed by the Afghans, the Mogul Jaghirs were transferred to it from Bengal and Behar. This measure, while it served to keep the Afghans in check, effected a considerable increase in the land revenue of those two provinces. But although the Jaghirdars were severely dealt with, the rights and pririleges of the Hindu landlords could not be easily shaken. By successive surveys and measurements the revenue payable by them was scentained. Beyond enforcing this fixed amount, they were seldom disturbed in the management of their estates.

In the year 1611 the English first visited India, and laid the foundations of that trade which at last proved the stepping-stone to sovereign power. The Portuguese had been driving a very brisk trade, but they telong met with a reverse which crippled their mercantile enterprise in Bengal. This was the fall of Hooghly in 1632. With the decline of Portuguese commerce, the English rose into importance. They had made only a temporary settlement in 1620; but fourteen years later, they sot a firman, empowering them to erect a permanent factory, which they soon did at Pipli.

Herbert travelled in Bengal about 1630. He speaks of the abundant produce of the land. So does DeLaot in his *India Vera*, which was written about the middle of the 17th century. De Laot makes mention of a city called Bengalla, which, he says, was near the eastern mouth of the Ganges, but which has disappeared since the early part of the 17th century. This city gave name to the Bay. Gaur, he observes, was the former capital, but since about the time of the disappearance of bengalla, which, by-the-bye, Mr. Taylor, in his *Topography*, erroneously then Subah Bengal was reduced under Aurungzeb, the last of the seat Moguls.

Shaista Khan was appointed Governor of Bengal in 1663. His which, barring a break of three years, lasted till 1689, marks an the history of European trade. The English had already made

their settlement for good. Following their example, the Dutch their trade centres in P. French and the Danes established their trade centres in Bengal. Shaish Khan was at first kind to the English, but he afterwards harassed then and matters became so very serious that they were obliged to stop their Bengal trade for some time.

The French physician, Bernier, was in India from 1655 to 1660 He is, as Major Rennell says, "the most instructive of all Indian itavellers," and "deserves the greatest credit for veracity." He writes: "The large kingdom of Bengal surpasses Egypt itself, not only in the of rice, corn and other necessaries of life, but of in. numerable other articles of commerce which are not cultivated in Egypt, such as silk, cotton and indigo. Bengal also produces a large quantity of saltpetre, which is sent out to Europe by the English and the Dutch, the ships being loaded at Patna and despatched thence la is also rich in gum lac, opium, wax, civet, and long pepper. . . . la a word, Bengal is a country abounding in all things." The muslimed Dacca and the silks of Malda were much prized at the Imperial Count. Bernier's account of the treatment of the peasantry, artisans, and merchants by the provincial Governors or farmers, however, is not favourable. He saw a large number of canals on both sides of the Ganges from Rajmahal to the sea, cut out of that river with vast labour, for the est conveyance of goods and merchandise into the interior. These cand were lined with fertile towns and villages. In the midst of the Ganga he found many fertile islands which added much to the beauty of the country. As for the isles that were near the sea, they had been abate doned by human beings owing to the constant incursions of the Feringees of Arrakan, and had thus become the abodes of tigers, how and other wild beasts. The traveller made a voyage from Pipli is big boat of seven oars, and after encountering many accidents on the way, arrived on the tenth day at Hooghly, where he spent some time with pleasure.

The French jeweller, Tavernier, came to Bengal about 1666, alies Shaista Khan had taken charge of it. He states that though the public building and public buildings and the houses of the rich and great were large and splendid the believe splendid, the habitations of the common people were as a rule wiether huts. This accounts a splendid to the common people were as a rule witch had huts. This account perfectly agrees with what Ralph Fitch had found about eights and come found about eighty years before. Speaking of the then rich and derable city of Supervisors. derable city of Sunargaon, Fitch writes: "The houses here are, as lie in most parts of India. lie in most parts of India, very little, and covered with straw, and have a few mats round about 11 a few mats round about the walls and the door." In the last few years of

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Shaista Khan's rule, however, it would appear that many brick-built would appear that many brick-built in Dacca. The style of these buildings, as well as the more splendid ones built for public purposes, is known as the when "

«Shaista Khany." Captain Hamilton was in the East Indies from 1688 to 1723. He risited many parts of Bengal and has given some account of them. By that time the English had settled at Calcutta, and the Dutch at Chinsura. Both the nations had also factories at Malda and Patna. Kasimbazar as a place of trade had thrown Muradabad in the backgound. But all these cities were surpassed by Dacca. Regarding this place, Hamilton says: "This city is the largest in Bengal, and its manufactures, cotton and silk, the best and cheapest. The plenty and cheapness of the provisions are incredible, and the country is full of inhabilants." He also testifies to the great fertility of the island of Sandwip, thereby corroborating the previous accounts of Cæsar Frederick and Herbert. In the third year of Aurungzeb's reign Bhullooah was the fontier town of the Mogul empire; but when Hamilton was in Bengal the frontier had been extended to Chittagong. The traveller notices some troublesome Rajas, whose territories lay on the banks of the Ganges from Patna to Kasimbazar, and who levied laxes on all merchandise that passed through their estates by the

As regards Mogul rule, Hamilton says that the people were better contented to live under them than under Pagan princes, for the Mogul laxed them gently, and every one knew what he must pay; whereas the Pagan kings taxed at their will and pleasure, making their own avarice the standard of equity. But though the taxes were light and limited, still tyranny had not become a thing unknown, and as a matter of fact, rich citizens found it very hard to keep their property safe from the hands of the Mogul official. Notwithstanding all this, several noble bouses sprang up during the Mogul sway both in Bengal and Behar.
These facilities but they These families were in their beginning mere landholders, but they alterwards gained considerable power and influence. They had armies and navies and were well able to hold their own against their enemies.

Though the Though they were occasionally subjected to severities for default in the due name of the the due payment of revenue, they were practically the rulers of the estates which were in their possession and enjoyment. Among these remindars the Rani Bhabani of remindars the Rajas of Burdwan and Nadia and Rani Bhabani of Natione figured. Nattore figured most conspicuously in Bengal, as the Rajas of Darbhanga, Bettiah and D Bettiah and Doomraon did in Pehar.

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Though the people were sometimes robbed of their riches in the pecuniary sense of that term, still this robbery did not extend to the riches of letters and philosophy, which went on increasing. Kabla kan's Chandi, as we have already noticed, was composed when the Afghans were conquered by the Moguls. About fifteen years also the poet Kasiram Das flourished in Bengal. His Mahabharat, which is a more polished piece of composition than the Ramayana of Krittiba soon secured a high place in Bengali literature, and its popularity is such that there is not a single respectable Hindu family that does to possess a copy of its own. In fact, the Ramayana and the Mahabharan are the two most popular works in the Bengali language and are we adapted to serve as guides to the moral training of the masses. Inthe beginning of the 18th century, Rameswar brought out his beautiful poem, Shiva Sankirtan. Later on, Ramprosad Sen also gained renown in the same field. His Vidyasundara has certainly considerable merit, but the compositions by which he has immortalised himself are his sublimely simple songs, which serve to teach religion and morally better than volumes of learned sermons and discourses. raneous with Ramprasad was Bharat Chandra Ray, who flourished a the Court of Raja Krishna Chandra of Nadia. His Annada Mangalis really a masterpiece, and though he yields to Kabikankana in point of originality, his sweet and elegant style has been justly deemed worthy of imitation. The Navadwip school of philosophy well sustained its reputation during the Mogul period, and although it did not then produce a Basudeva or a Raghunath, still it possessed sufficient charms to attract numbers of pupils from distant lands. Tribeni and Guptipiri also produced some learned pandits, and their fame as seats of Hindu learning soon spread far and wide.

Murshid Kuli Khan was the ablest of all Mogul governors. Though unquestionably a tyrant, he encouraged foreign trade. As a preventive against famine, he prohibited the export of grain, and thus the price of rice was reduced to four annas a maund. He prepared a fresh rent-roll, whereby the revenue was increased by nearly twelve lakhs. The zemindars who were entrusted with the duty of collecting it were most cruelly tortured on their failing to make remittance in due time. This governor became so very powerful that even the independent Rajas of Tippera, Kuch Behar, Assam and Bishnupur sent him rich presents. During his rule, Sitaram Roy, who has been styled "the Sivaji of Bengal," flourished in Jessore. He rose from small beginnings, and ultimately became one of the powers in the land. The Chuckladars of

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lessore having become refractory, the Emperor, Ferokeshere, called Jessore narrows bring them into subjection. As a reward for this daring act, he was granted a rich Jaghir together with the title of Raja. Elated with pride, her defied the authority of Murshid Kuli Khan himelf, and defeated the little band of soldiers that were sent to punish But this defeat only irritated the governor the more, who lost no time in marching a larger army to Mahmudpur, the seat Sitaram. The city fell, and with it the power of its Raja was humbled to the dust. Sitaram died about the year 1719. Murtid Kuli had ruled with great severity, but his successor, Shujaddin, proved a mild governor. The European traders received encouragement at his hands, and, consequently, foreign trade flourished. During his rule Tippera was brought under the Moguis, on which ccasion its name was changed to Roshanabad. Dacca prospered under the blessed administration of Jeswant Roy, and the price of rice came bwn to two annas a maund. Shuja's rule was a real blessing, and although he spent a good deal on buildings and other luxuries, he left afull treasury to his successor.

When Ali Verdi Khan ascended the musnud, the country was quiet, but soon its peace was disturbed. It is true that Portuguese piracy had been put down, and the Assamese had been kept hack from their plundering raids; but fresh troubles came from a quarter where they were least expected, The Mahrattas raided into Bengal and desolated some of its districts. At last matters came to a crisis, and the Nabob purchased their forbearance by the cession of Orissa. A few years after old Ali Verdi died, leaving the throne to his grandson, Siraj-ud-dowla, who was a spoilt young man, quite unfit to hold the reins of government. As had been anticipated, he soon fell into ways and wild excesses, and thus alienated the hearts of his subjects. The principal men of the country combined against him, and the result sthe battle of Plassey, which, though from a military point of view not Very significant affair, dealt the death-blow to the Mahomedan power, and virtually transferred the rule to the English. The formal transfer, bowever, did not take place until the bestowal of the Dewani on the East India Company in the year of grace 1765.

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

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ANN MARSTON—AN ENGLISH MAHATMA

THE classic word mahátmá (great soul) has come to be si misused in common parlance, that it may puzzle an orthodar Hindu to see it associated with the name of a foreigner, and the "only a woman." But the heroine of this story was a mahátmá in rel life; and her life-story, such as can be sketched in a magazine article will justify the claim to place her in the rank of great souls.

During my first visit to England, in 1890, I received a note on day from a stranger, addressed in the third person. The epistless so characteristic of the writer, that I have preserved it as a sortion heirloom, and am tempted to quote it in full. It runs thus:-

"Miss Marston presents her complts. She has just heard from he friend Mr. J. Routledge that Mr. - is interested in many Indian sub

jects in which she also is truly concerned. Would he favor her by coming to 5 o'clock tea either to-morrow (Tuesday) or Thursday, her two disengaged afternoons? One line fixed the day would be an additional kindness.

95 Onslow Square,

South Kensington.

June 9th, 1890."

Accustomed to receiving such notes, I felt at first that I was in for a mild headache over conventional small-talk with some conventional small-talk with smallplacent old maid, some leisured blue-stocking, or perhaps some feminist Park it feminist. But it would be ungracious to refuse to obey such summons from a lady. from a lady. In fear and trembling, therefore, I took train of afternoon to Santa and trembling, therefore, I took train of the santa and trembling, therefore, I took train of the santa and trembling, therefore, I took train of the santa and trembling, therefore, I took train of the santa and trembling, therefore, I took train of the santa and trembling, therefore, I took train of the santa and trembling, therefore, I took train of the santa and trembling, therefore, I took train of the santa and trembling, therefore, I took train of the santa and trembling, therefore, I took train of the santa and trembling, therefore, I took train of the santa and trembling, therefore, I took train of the santa and trembling, therefore, I took train of the santa and trembling, therefore, I took train of the santa and trembling, therefore, I took train of the santa and trembling the santa and the santa and trembling the santa and the santa and trembling the santa and the afternoon to South Kensington station, proceeding thence to 99 Onslow Square. A gentle push at the button set the electric bell ringing and works ringing and woke up the stately majordomo, waiting inside of special mission with a special mission, who flung the door open, took off my top-coat make ushered me up the beauty top-coat make the transfer of the ushered me up the broad staircase with a natural courtesy that was

1 reflect corridors as the inside, a little d stranger immedia room, as either, a rate or everyth such fac Bassein that I commun conveyi than of looked surroun situatio (as she and sh delights too, I Puzzled person. Orienta had ta We cou oppres: to hav

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not to be mistaken. Surely, I have misjudged the lady of the house, l reflected, following the janitor through the wide, well polished orridors. For half a minute I stood outside the drawing-room door, orndors. To announced me in a rather loud voice to the mistress inside, and in another half a minute I stood face to face with a dainty little dame who had stepped up to the door, welcoming the stranger with hands outstretched and with a smile that set him immediately at his ease. An air of delicate refinement pervaded the 100m, as it surrounded the person of the owner—nothing loud about either, as to colour, contents or disposition of things—nothing elaborate or artificial, not a single article that was unnecessary—and everything scrupulously clean withal. When and where had I seen such face and figure before? Ah yes, many years ago, on the lonely Bassein coast, one night. It was in the gloaming of a far-gone night that I had met this water-nymph, a sleepless mortal like myself, communing with the spirits of the sky above and the sea below, and conveying to the canvas her own subconscious impressions rather than of the virgin moon she had come out to sketch. She herself booked a moonbeam amid the sombre and somewhat squalid surroundings—the rough coast-line and the crazy native craft. situation was very embarrassing at first, but the Collector's wife (as she proved to be), was possessed of the divine gift of sympathy, and she allowed the shrinking schoolboy to drink with herself the delights of a midsummer night in Salsette. With Miss Marston, 100, I felt very embarrassed at the outset, and she seemed Puzzled as myself. Each had expected to meet a different kind of Person. She had probably looked out for an elderly Indian in Oriental toggery and with the profuse politeness of the East; and I had taken her for a stiff-and-starched exponent of the feminist cult. We could not speak for our surprise, till she relieved the growing oppressiveness of the silence by remarking, "It is very good in you to have come all this distance." I found her voice, like everything else belonging to her, to be that of a born lady. Before proceeding to serie ing to Serious matters, I asked Miss Marston if she had any personal interest in I interest in India—any relatives or friends in the country? She had relatives of the state of the Norris. "D. ... answered, and but one friend in India, Mr. Justice Morris. "But your historic land has fascinated me always," she and besides, I know that my countrymen, though meaning

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well, are often unkind to your people, and I want, in my own small way, to make up for this. We English feel a great responsibility the matter." In expressing these sentiments Miss Marston unconsciously made me her life-long friend. We now drifted into general conversation, and warmed by the cup that cheers but not inebriate. I spoke to her freely about men and things Indian. Miss Marston's tea was the best I took in England, just as Miss Nightingale's cup of milk was the sweetest I ever tasted. Is there not a certain appropriateness in the mother of trained nurses giving one the most nourishing of one's afternoon cups?

From general conversation at 95 Onslow Square we came to the chief object of the interview, namely the Buisson Bath for the treatment of hydrophobia and other nerve diseases. Our views were found to be in close agreement; so it was not difficult for Miss Marston to secure my promise on the spot to do whatever I could to popularise the treatment and to obtain a fair trial for the bath in India. I am not sure at this moment whether her gallant coadjutor, Captain Pirkis, was present at this interview; at any rate, Miss Marston brought us together soon after, and I well remember ou first conversation in Hyde Park, whither he had come all the way from his lovely Surrey home. His experiences of life in China were very amusing, and, to an Asiatic and a follower of Gordon Pacha, very mortifying also. Miss Marston, Captain Pirkis and myself took up "the Buisson Craze" in right earnest. With her help I introduced more than fifty of the baths into India, arranging with the authorities of some of our public hospitals and dispensaries, after prolonged negotiations, to use this curative method on patients willing to have the benefit of the vapour bath. A Bengali friend was also enabled to place the apparatus with willing workers. Thus commenced my acquaintance with Miss Marston, whom I took at the time (1890) to be an English lady of about sixty, of independent means and a much more independent turn of mind. And this estimate of her character grew stronger and stronger as our acquaintance, riponed tance ripened into friendship. The prevention of cruelty put animals, in the name of science, continued to be her first care. she was keenly interested in other movements too—Education, Irrigation, Christian Irrigation, Christian missionary enterprise, the relations between Her Europeans and Natives, and latterly, plague and famine.

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ANN MARSTON-AN ENGLISH MAHATMA

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power of acquiring information on these subjects was really marpower of acqually wonderful was the way in which she used the fellous, and of a capacity of the used the information so acquired. Gentle and unobtrusive in personal matters, the could yet be firm and almost assertive in matters of principle. the agreed with me on most questions; but whenever she differed, the did so with a robust commonsense which made me quail before her in argument. I have not met a lady so liberal and tolerant, and at the same time so uncompromising. One day, as I began to speak to her casually of a leading English politician, she cut me short with the remark, "Pray do not name him here." I was taken aback, but asked mildly if it was not time to let bygones be bygones in the case of a man whose life was so useful to the public. Her only answer was, "Never in his case; we shun him instinctively." I reopened the subject adroitly in a letter, and asked if she was really for the doctrine of eternal punishment. She was not, she replied "but there are certain things I cannot forgive." At another time the took a dislike to a lady worker who had been rather remiss in her duty; she would have nothing more to do with the delinquent. Her answer to my pleadings that the offender was a woman, that the might have forgotten or made light of her obligation, was, "She is not reliable; we must let her alone. I say nothing against her, but I won't trust her again." A third time she showed a violent aversion to a prelate who seems to have promised to aid her efforts against vivisection, but to a certain extent to have changed his mind. I spoke up for him, urging that he could have had no object in playing ast and loose with principles; that every man was entitled to revise his judgment in such a matter, that our friend was too good and to have practised deception &c., &c. But Miss Marston beld out. "He is a turncoat," she wrote. To this I took excepion strongly, appealing to her Christian feeling and her usual orbearance, referring also to the high character and position of the offender, and to the absence of motive. "Yes," she wrote to me inteply, "he is a strong man, occupying a very high position. So The is a strong man, occupying a very inglification than worse for him . . . You are a better Christian than There was harshly. We must each act according to our light." There was Nothing to be said after this.

Our conversation one evening drifted unconsciously to the

tough old topic—the killing of animals for food. She hated the taking of life as much as I did, but saw nothing morally wrong in meat-eating. To the question if such an attitude was not illogical she replied that all life, vegetable as well as animal, was intended for the use of man (not for abuse), and that so long as wanton cruelty was avoided, the eating of animals was justified by medical science as also by human experience, as meat was the least difficult for us to digest and assimilate, being nearest to human flesh in is constituents. "In that case, the cannibals seem to be the most logical of eaters," I put in at this stage; at which she laughed remarking, "Mind, I was not arguing; I was simply stating a position. Personally I think yours to be the more excellent way," So liberal were her views usually, that Miss Marston once told me, were it not a matter of indifference after death, she would prefet cremation to all other modes of disposal of the body. This led up to a discussion of the future state, as to which she observed categorically "Why pry into the future which God has mercifully concealed from our gaze? Let us trust implicity to His mercy." Thought staunch Christian, Miss Marston never cared for visible results in the way of conversion. It sometimes seemed that she rather dis trusted converts. Education and free choice were her watchwords She found much that was good in every religion, and this she wanted the followers of each to cherish especially. Salvation was possible to us all, to each in his or her own way, she thought.

Miss Marston bitterly resented the proposal for establishing? Pasteur Institute in India, and urged me time after time to do all I could to prevent this and to push the claims of the Buisson method. I did my very best, thwarting the late Maharaja of Dholepur's ingenious scheme which Lord Elgin knocked on the head as soon as he saw through it. Lord Curzon gave another chance to Pasteurism in India, and not the most strenuous efforts we could make succeeded in preventing the establishment of the Kasauli Institute. It grieved me to have to report this failure. But Miss Marstot tute. It grieved me to have to report this failure. But Miss Marstot was full of hope, as against my despondency. "I am sorry for the young Viceroy," she wrote; "this is probably his first path experts' have scored a victory this time, but be assured our will win in the end." I have often felt, from accounts given by the patients themselves, that the "cures" reported from

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Kasauli are due much more to Colonel Semple's kindly care of them, and to the confidence he inspires in them, than the efficacy of the serum used. It is the magic of genuine sympathy that sets up the unnerved sufferers from imaginary alment, and not the dark arts practised in the laboratory for the manufacture of real disease. I also feel that we Indians have failed miserably in making good the claims of the Buisson method.

It is curious that for all her intense love of animals, Miss Marston kept no domestic pets to lavish her affection on. I never aw a dog or a cat in her house. She was too intellectual for petty domesticities. She had the best of books and periodicals to occupy her, took the keenest interest in scientific and mathematical study, as also in all the larger questions of the day, and kept up a brisk omespondence with representatives of thought whom she happened to have met. She also knew several languages, and followed with special interest the progress of Christian missions over the world. Her critical faculties appeared to be highly developed, though she kept them always under control. At the official class everywhere, or rather at their methods of work, she looked askance almost instinctively. In our conversation, and more so in course of our "weekly chats" across the seas, she sometimes poured out her heart, quite unlike her usual self-namely, that she had neve experienced the blessing of a mother's love, that her father had died early, leaving her well provided for, that from her girlhood up she had been thrown upon her own resources, that for years she had wed with a lady-friend who had been like a twin sister, this soulunion lasting till the death of the friend whom she felt at the time she could not survive. "But I have somehow managed to live on by uneventful life," she concluded, with quaint pathos.

Miss Marston was emotional by nature, but her healthy, hearty pursuits tended to give her a practicality denied even to men with a sentimental bias. I occasionally found it more easy to move Mr. Gladstone, the statesman, than this simple-hearted householder. She lated war, but put up with it as a necessary evil. She thought the Of the Queen she spoke with deep feeling—"Ah? the Queen, poor lated war bady!" She hardly ever spoke of Mr. Gladstone or Lord Salisbury, talked cheerfully of Max Müller, Lords Ripon, Northbrook, Cromer

and Reay, whom she called her favourite. Of Miss Nightings she spoke with pride, and of the Duke of Connaught she one observed—"I wish he had a more important share in politics." She spoke and wrote frequently to me of Captain Pirkis and of Prof. Flinders Petrie, her godson—she had apparently a colony of god children. She was very fond of Miss Cobbe, and looked proud when I spoke of her as "our gallant colleague." She often consulted Miss Goff, "wise beyond her years," and had a very high esteen for Mr. James Routledge, whom she did more than myself to chee up in his declining years. We had thus many common friends, a we had common interests and ideas. For instance, when I wrote to her about the Moravian missionaries working nobly beyond the Himalayan valleys, she replied, "How wonderful! The Moravian are my favourites."

When arrangements were being made in London to present me with a purse, Miss Marston offered to contribute largely towards itsomething like £1,500. I protested against such extravagance, and begged her to provide for those who had stronger claims upon he sympathy—to which she replied that she had very few of her own people to provide for. We had a good deal of friendly wrangling over this affair. Luckily, the project of a purse fell through, as I declined to accept it for my own use; and so the need disappeared of further discussion with this too kind friend. But when Prof. Mar Müller got up an address of congratulations for me, it was Miss Marston who secured for it the largest number of influential signatories. The letters she sent on to me from friends at Court and in other high quarters made very grateful reading.

In the winter of 1896 I was again ordered to Europe for medical treatment. Miss Marston thought the French climate and French specialists would suit me better. So I went to Paris and placed myself, through my dear old friend M. Menant, under Dr. Dejering and his wife, a talented Californian, formerly his pupil and now his partner in professional as well as domestic life. They offered to set me up if I gave them full twelve months to do so. This was impossible—I had neither the time nor the means. On hearing about it from a friend, Miss Marston wrote me a long letter, enclosing a this cheque for £300 and offering to send another cheque as soon as this cheque for £300 and offering to send another cheque as soon and was spent. She asked me most earnestly to accept this aid of the send and t

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jublic grounds, in the spirit in which she had ventured to offer it. owe a deep debt to India, which has given so much to my country; and India owes a deep debt to you. I cannot serve your country better than by trying to give you back your health. There is nothing personal in this." And she went on to add that she had ample means, that what she offered me was a windfall which no one was at all likely to miss. In fine, she made the offer in such a spirit that none but a churl could decline it. I accepted it gratefully, stipulating that I should be allowed to repay the money by easy instalments. This incident drew us closer together, and Miss Marston now wrote to me more freely than before. She insisted upon my obeying the doctors fully, and was delighted when they gave me Ioravians permission to return home. But when I sent her the first instalment, she wrote, "You are very naughty. I never accepted your condition." And finally, after repeated struggles, she compromised by asking me to use the balance on the poor in India.

About this time, or perhaps a little earlier, I had a very tempting offer made to me, the acceptance of which would have entailed absence from home for years, to the neglect of my special work in life. It was difficult to make up the mind, ambition pointing one way, and duty the other. In this state of perplexity I consulted Miss Marston and another noble Englishwoman (noble by birth as well as character). They looked at the question in all its bearings, and independently of each other they came to the same conclusion, namely, that I was the best person to decide. But each of them, unknown to the other, placed before me the advantages and the disadvantages of the offer, with a breadth and clearness of view worthy of a statesman. I doubt if the ablest of my gentlemen friends would have advised better, supposing they had the time and the inclination. The advice of my two lady friends, though left be inferred, nerved me to the task of self-effacement; it made me my back for ever on what is called a career.

As Miss Marston helped me, so she helped others through me. the gave substantial aid to a Bengali gentleman whom his countrymen might have treated more generously. When in London I used to send her lo send her appeals on behalf of Indian students and business men in need of help; and she always responded heartily, leaving to my lidgment at Mgment the form and extent of the aid to be given. Out here in

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India I sometimes received help from her for the victims of plague and famine, with the exhortation, "Oh, spare your own too scanty reserve." And she always wished her name kept back. But generous though she was almost to lavishness, she never gave indiscriminately. Even the Buisson Bath was withheld if the applicant did not satisfy her as to his bona fides. And she insisted upon an annual report of its working from every recipient of her gift.

During one of my early visits to England, Miss Marston asked after our political movements. I spoke to her in a general way, gave her Mr. Alfred Webb's address to the Congress, and sent her later a set of pamphlets borrowed from Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. She thought well of the Congress movement, hoping it might have a salutary effect on the official classes and keep the British public generally well-informed on Indian questions. At this stage, unfortunately, she came across some violent utterances at a meeting of Indian students, and when we next met she said, smiling, "I have finished my course of Congress readings." I submitted that the movement could not be justly held to blame for the aberrations of follower here or there. She agreed, but added, "I prefer to follow my old friend, the *Indian Spectator*." Unknown to me, she had subscribed for several copies of the paper, which she sent to her friends in England.

Whilst parting with my friend for the last time I found her powers getting impaired, notably her hearing, for which she now began using a tiny little ear-trumpet. On expressing concern at this infirmity I heard her whisper, serenely, "I have so much to be thankful for." And as, on saying good-bye, she gave me a warmer and more prolonged hand-clasp, I noticed her step was less elastic. But there was the same smile of content round the corners of the mouth, the same keenness of glance expressive of unabated interest in life. Jennings, as he took me down, said in reply to my mute inquiry, "No, Sir, she has not been herself since her accident a inquiry, "No, Sir, she has not been herself since her accident helping herself, and accepts so little service from us." I advised helping herself, and accepts so little service from us." I advised helping herself, and accepts so little service from us." I advised helping herself, add accepts so little service from us." I said before leaving that with her forty years—God bless her!" I said before leaving that

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ANN MARSTON-AN ENGLISH MAHATMA

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knew my friend was safe with him and his wife, to which he replied, "You may depend upon that, Sir." And he meant every word of what he said. Jennings had one grievance against his honoured mistress at this time—"She eats so little—less than a bird." Miss Marston, indeed, seemed to eat, drink and sleep like a bird. She was quite a bird in some of her habits—so temperate, so regular, so joyous in going through her daily round of duties.

My friend asked me more than once to spend a few weeks with her at Tunbridge Wells and St. Leonards, whither she used to repair when she found London too hot or foggy. And knowing my habits, she offered me a separate establishment during my say with her. But finding me unable to leave town, she invited my on and made him at home, bringing herself down to his level of thought and interest and entering heartily into all his plans for he future. For outdoor amusement and sightseeing she made him over to her trusty Jennings. And between the two they gave the guesta very fine idea of English country life—an acquisition of which my Indian might be proud. Before the visitor left England, Miss Marston presented him with a set of valuable law-books. The money value was nothing compared with the care she had given to the selection of the books. "I have all my life been fond of law study, as of mathematics and astronomy," she wrote out to me, "and am rather proud of the volumes I acquired for Phiroze."

About the beginning of 1901 our weekly letters began to be somewhat of a tax on us both, without being particularly useful; and the asked whether it would not be better if we wrote to each other only when necessary. I accepted the suggestion, little knowing at the time that it was meant really to break the force of the blow that was to fall on me within a few months. We went on writing to each other intermittently till the 28th November, 1901. In her letter of a week ago, Miss Marston was so clear as to remember the late Maharaja of Durbhanga. In the same letter she warned me, "Do not expect a letter from me next week. We shall, on letter day, be nowing to the sea-side. I need a change after our dreadful fogs."

Next week came a long letter, full of anxiety about my health and regret at my having undertaken "an additional labour" (the publication the wrote, "yet very inconsistently I could desire you freedom from

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all extra work and extra responsibility . . . The contents of East & West so occupy my mind, I cannot dwell on other topics." The letter concludes with "special wishes for your health and strength, so cruelly over-tried." That was her last long letter. Two brief ones came after it, carrying us to about mid-December. Towards the close of the month, just after Yule-tide, Miss Marston was taken ill suddenly, and, unknown to almost all her friends she passed away on the 29th of December, after a painless illness. When the Doctor, a stranger, asked if she was prepared to go, she returned the pressure of his hand, and replied cheerfully, "Oh yes, quite."

Her last request to me was for a copy of some special Irrigation Report of the Punjab Government, which, unfortunately, I could not obtain for her. Her last thoughts were with her beloved Buisson Bath. She was 93 at the time, and not about 70, as I had taken he to be. For an old maid her life seemed complete and self-sufficing, As she had lived, so she died, independent of external aid and in full possession of her faculties. In person she was a fragile little thing, a mere featherweight of humanity. But in capacity of heart and quality and volume of mind she seemed to surpass nota few of the great men of the century. And yet she always said of herself, without affectation—" I am a poor body, but have had much to be thankful for." Ann Marston had very little of the earthin her even in earthly matters. She appeared to have outgrown the weaknesses of human nature; I always found her true to the core and thoroughly self-reliant. If life on earth could ever be described as self-made and self-saved, I would dare to describe my friend's as such. Who can tell if she is not still hovering over the lesser beings, to keep us moving straight in our orbits, by dint of her unfelt presence? I have often sat puzzling over the mystery of Mis Marston's attachment to India. Above I have given her own simple explanation of it—in which something appears wanting somehow. She had not the slightest personal knowledge of our country; and yet she know most it. yet she knew most things Indian better than the majority of Anglo Indian officials. She herself set little store by what is called super. natural; but to me it is impossible to account for her life long devotion to Indiana. devotion to Indian interests without an appeal to something above and beyond our conscient and beyond our conscious experience. If Ann Marston was not a

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Mahàtmà in her last birth, she has undoubtedly become one now Such, at least, is the belief of one who has benefited largely by the impact of her pure life, the inspiration of her holy example. For her sake, and of others like her, I have learnt to overlook much that is unattractive in the life and conversation of her countrymen.

When shall we have an *Indian* lady to compare with the heroine of this hurried sketch?—or an Indian gentleman either? Till such men and women arise in India it sounds futile to talk of patriotism, charity, and the other gifts and graces of a larger life—ich in its inner workings, richer by far in its outer flow. It is worth mentioning here that Ann Marston was not the only Englishwoman of her day, so well-endowed and so widely useful. Catharine Gladstone, and Henrietta, Lady Stanley of Alderley, might be named among many others of this notable group of benefactors. There are many Englishwomen in our own generation, too, to remind us of these. But of the living, even a bare mention here may savour of fattery.

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

Lord Curzon's Ideals.

Five years ago, when Lord Curzon set foot on the Indian soil as His Majesty's Viceroy of this great Dependency, which he had visited before as a traveller and a student of Imperial

politics, he was hailed by the accredited representatives of Native public opinion, as he had told his friends at home how he lovel India, her peoples and her history. He did not come here with a blank mind, and probably on some questions not an altogether open mind: he had travelled in the East, he had theorised about the East, "trailing clouds of glory" he came—with ideas which he had now the opportunity to convert into actualities. The normal period of his exalted office has come to an end: His Majesty has marked its termination with only a semicolon, extending the period by another two years. It is further punctuated at this stage by the bestown upon the Viceroy of a historic post of dignity. "Well-done" is, we believe, the articulate paraphrase of these tokens of appreciation How does the thermometer of popular applause read here, in a country which is so very liable to extremes of temperature? At the last Budget meeting, His Excellency made one of his most brilliant speeches, in which facts and arguments were drawn up in battle array, richly uniformed, imposingly marshalled, and strategically located, to defend his five years' rule from criticisms and aspersions. Government of India in my time," begins the peroration, "has been involved in involved in many controversies, and has had to bear the brunt of much attack." It, indeed, goes on to say that "perhaps when the smoke of battle has blown aside, it may be found that from this period of stress and have a suipped period of stress and labour has emerged an India better equipped to face the many to face the many problems which confront her, stronger and better guarded on her forms guarded on her frontiers, with her agriculture, her industries, her

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commerce, her education, her irrigation, her railways, her army and commerce, her described a higher state of efficiency—with every section police prought are machinery in better repair, with her credit of her currency restored, the material prosperity of her people enhanced, and their loyalty strengthened." The sceptic may shake his head doubtfully and deny that such a transformation scene can be effected in five or even in seven years. Lord Curzon, however, frankly avows that his policy has not enlisted universal approval whatever may be the scene unfolded when the smoke of hattle subsides. How have the controversies arisen? For much that Lord Curzon has done the country has given him nothing but praise, although the volume of commendation has necessarily been somewhat contracted and its heartiness somewhat enfeebled by the contrary feelings aroused during the discussions. His high-minded and courageous determination to put down the ill-treatment of natives by Europeans; his reduction of taxation; the deep interest shown by him in the preservation of antiquities; the curtailment of reports; the reduction of telegraphic rates; the creation of a Board of Scientific Advice; the establishment of the Pusa College; the appointment of specialists to carry on agricultural research; the passing of the Co-operative Credit Societies Bill; the proposed creation of a Commercial Department; the formation of the Imperial Cadet Corps—for these, and generally for that watchful industry without which so many measures could not have been fashioned on the Viceregal anvil, Lord Curzon has received nothing but praise. The final outcome of the three important Commissions—on Irrigation, Railways and Police—is not yet known. Whatever the action laken by Government on the Reports of these Commissions may be, the motive that prompted their appointment and the determination to tackle the problems whose solution they were required to facilitate, have on all hands been commended. If Lord Curzon had been commended. content with these reforms, a statesman of his eloquence, ability and Experience would have been the most popular man in India to-day. but he would not allow his duty to be circumscribed by popularity, her his peof. hor his usefulness to his Sovereign and to the people to be measured by journalist. by journalistic applause. He had convictions and ideals of his own:

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Lord Curzon's method of blending the East and the West that has provoked so much opposition from the educated classes who have learnt from his countrymen ideals of a different character. Lord Curzon is an artist first and a statesman afterwards. The artistic temperament is generally conservative: it loves contrasts of elevation and of colour in the social landscape, and hates dreary uniformity: it delights in the preservation of the curious and the romantic in the past, and utilitarianism is to it anathema: it is generally associated with the impulse of genius rather than with the calculating hesitance of practicalness; it would draw its political inspiration from the Olympian Court rather than from the Athenian demos. "I do not think that the salvation of India is to be sought on the field of politics at the present stage of development," declared His Excellency in his Budget speech; "and it is not my conception of statesmanship to earn a cheap applause by offering so-called booms for which the country is not ready, and for which my successors, and not I, would have to pay the price." Thus does a Viceroy, who made his appearance on the stage in the midst of deafening plaudits, challenge hisses from the gallery. Many have told us in dulcet tons that the East is not yet ready for political concessions-in other words, for the concession of self-government; but few in the position of a Viceroy have stigmatised the applause as cheap. Here we have the outspoken artist rather than the consummate diplomat Political concessions have already been granted in a measure to the people of India, and Viceroys who do not wish to add to them tell us very modestly that they will only water what their predecessors have planted: Lord Curzon has come here to plant and not 10 work the picotah. The hostility of concession-seekers has been aroused not so much by the negative refusal, but by what has been construed as a positive attempt to narrow the circle of those who aspire after privileges. The Report of the Universities Commission was the turning point in the relations of the Viceroy with the dispensers of applause. For some of the controversial measures Lord Curzon's responsibility has been more or less that of the head of the administration, who acts upon expert advice. The currency reform was entirely the work of specialists: no Viceroy who had not managed the not managed the finances of a country would have resisted it this own responsibility his own responsibility. Nor would Lord Curzon have professed to

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be an adept in the mysteries of the relations between landlord and be an adept in the sowcar and the impecunious ryot, without tenant, and so of those in whose experience and judgment he had to be prompting. To an administrator with his predilections it was goldably a recommendation in favour of the policy of restricting polaris a lend of that freedom of contract was a Western notion and hat the restriction of it was a conception of public policy hallowed by the traditions of the East. Education and foreign policy are the branches of the administration on which Lord Curzon had opinions of his own, for which he was very little indebted to local advisers. On the general administration his ideals are summed up in the sentence: "Efficiency of administration is, in my view, a synonym for the contentment of the governed." But what is efficiency? Is it elaboration of the means without reference to the benignity of the end, the refinement of the machinery without regard to the purpose for which the machinery is to be employed, huge contingent of trained officers whose training is of benefit only to themselves? We do not understand Lord Curzon to love efficiency "for its own sake", indeed, no enlightened ruler can be of far forgetful of the end and be so exclusively loccupied with the means, as to multiply official interests without any corresponding advantage to the taxpayer and the ryot. Lord Curzon has evidently discovered that such a misunderstanding exists: hence his explanaton why he has devoted so much attention to administrative leforms. "When I came out to India, every public body or society, without exception, that addressed me urged me to pursue a policy administrative reform. And yet what criticism is now more amiliar to me than that no one in India desires administrative leform at all, and that the only benefactor of the people is he who wes them political concessions?" As far as we are able to judge, the criticism appears to be based on the notion that Lord Curzon been engaged in elaborating, and hence adding to the cost of the administration, and not in reforming it so as to reduce its hardsips—as by separating the executive from the judiciary—or so as b alleviate the burdens of the people—as by improving the system of land-revenue collection. One recent critic pitched upon a statebent of his that the Government of India was very ill equipped as to point the mpared with European countries, and endeavoured to point the how Lord Curzon forgets the poverty of the people and the kind of government which their resources permit and their circum. stances call for, and aims at inflicting upon them grand ideals borrowed from the West. The mistake is seen as soon as we tun from a discussion of vague propositions and inquire what exactly are those administrative reforms which Lord Curzon has introduced and whether they are not necessary for adding to the resources or the happiness of the country. His remarks on irrigation enable us to understand his point of view. He hoped to initiate "a comprehensive and far-reaching policy that will do more good to the cultivating classes than any Bills that we can pass in this Council, or any remissions of taxation that the Finance Member might announce in the Budget." To this administrative reform no one can object, and yet, as Lord Curzon would say, it depends upon the reform of the administrative machinery. "An untrained or inadequate establishment cannot suddenly begin to spend lakhs on tanks and canals." Similarly, in other branches of the administration, it appears to be Lord Curzon's opinion that the Government does all that it can with its present machinery. He is anxious that it should do more, but it cannot extend its operations without a more elaborate and a differently constructed machinery: he has had to set up the plant and lay down the plans; it may be given partly to him, but chiefly to his successors, to begin and continue the work. It is the rhetonic that mystifies, and sometimes provokes, as when the Viceroy claims that "reform has been carried through every branch and depart ment of the administration, abuses have been swept away, the pace quickened, and the standards raised."

It is worthy of note that while Lord Curzon's countryment belonging to a different political school have criticised his Government for its frontier policy, or its fiscal policy, its revenue or is military policy, the Delhi Durbar or the Official Secrets legislation, the opposition to the measure which was the most bitterly contested the reform of the Universities—came almost entirely from the native of the country. In his educational reforms Lord Curzon has stood forth as the representative of the British ideal, acknowledged by Liberals and Conservatives alike. On the other hand, before his Persian Gulf tour and the despatch of the Tibet Mission his frontier or foreign policy evoked no hostile criticism from the people of this country: the creation of the North-West Frontier Province

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opposed by some of his own countrymen. "Our policy," he explainopposed by some speech, "was summed up in these principles ed in his budget little forces from advanced positions, the employthe withdrawing the tribal forces in the defence of tribal country, concentrament of the trible of British forces in British territory behind them as a safeguard and a support, the improvement of communications in the rear." This meant economy in the management of our own finances, and respect for the rights of other native races, and as such the policy, which was Lord Curzon's own, was popular enough. The visit to the Persian Gulf and the movement into Tibet have once more provoked denunciations of the "forward" policy. Lord Curzon's view of India's position is this: "she is like a fortress with the vast moat of the sea on two of her faces and with mountains for her valls on the remainder, but beyond those walls, which are someimes of by no means insuperable height, and admit of being easily penetrated, extends a glacis of varying breadth and dimension. We boot want to occupy it, but we also cannot afford to see it occupied by our foes. We are quite content to let it remain in the hands of wallies and friends, but if rival and unfriendly influences creep pto it and lodge themselves right under our walls, we are compelkd to intervene, because a danger would thereby grow up that might one day menace our security. This is the secret of the whole Position in Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet, and as far eastwards Siam. He would be a short-sighted commander who merely manned his ramparts in India and did not look out beyond, and the whole or our policy during the past five years, has been directed wards maintaining our predominant influence, and preventing the apansion of hostile agencies on this area which I have described."

Lord Curzon opened his speech on the Universities Bill with the philosophic reflection that "education shares with theology the distinction of provoking passions and recrimination almost beyond my other human concern." Where opinions cannot be verified by application of objective tests, controversies will rage for an indefinite length of time. The inability to establish one's case to the opponent's satisfaction rouses one's temper, and what is unavailing argument is made up for by recrimination. If writers, in the inability press had the personal knowledge of military matters which required to discuss the frontier policy in its technical details

controversy on that policy would have ranged very much wider that the question of cost and the expediency of relying on the loyal support of the people. Such controversies in their very nature are interminable. The Budget does not afford an opportunity to the Vice roy to dwell on the relations between the Paramount Power and the Protected States. Lord Curzon, however, has from time to time told the world what he expects from the feudatory Princes. One of the objects with which he has consented to prolong his stay in India, he said some time ago, was to draw the Crown and the Feudatories closer together. In reply to H. H. the Aga Khan's suggestion concerning the contribution to be made by the Native Princes towards Imperial defence, His Excellency said that the subject had been for some time under his consideration and would be dealt with on his return to India.

A Budget debate, as it is conducted by the non-official Members, generally gives an opportunity to the Viceroy to define and explain the policy of the Government in regard to the employment of Native in the administration of the country. The principles on which this policy is based are now well known. They ignore the distinctions of caste, colour and creed as such, and substitute in their place a theory of national characteristics and inherent distinctions of character and capacity, which works out in practice to the prejudice of the subject races—a phrase which Lord Curzon does not like According to this theory, certain races possess a higher administrative aptitude than others, and, we suppose, according to the principle of division of labour, those that are born to rule are by Providence intended to be utilised in high places, while others fall into the lower stations for which Nature has designed them! A mixture of science and self-interest is one of the most dangerous combinations of the most dan tions that our enlightened age has taught us to invent. Englishmen says Lord Curzon, "possess, partly by heredity, partly by up-bring, and ing, and partly by education, the knowledge of the principles of Government, the habits of mind, and the vigour of character which are essential for the task;" and though Lord Curzon gave this reason for the reason for the maintenance of a corps d'élite for the highest ranks of civil employment civil employment, its application must necessarily be very elastic so much so that so much so that even clerkships in the Secretariat are now considered to demand the secretariat are now conside dered to demand the habits of mind and the vigour of character

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which are supposed not to be found in the Native races. Thus in his political ideals, Lord Curzon is like one of those Eastern rulers who had a consuming zeal for the service of their people and whose ambition was to govern efficiently and well, but not to teach others to govern themselves.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THEOSOPHY AND ITS CRITICS.

To the Editor, EAST & WEST.

SIR,—Don't you think the letter on "Theosophy and Hinduism," in the March number of *East* & *West*, is of too petty-minded a nature, and of too negative a character, to have found place in a high-class Review like yours? Has not India had enough of this spirit, to which we partly owe our downfall?

As I know the aim of your Review is harmony, and not discord, I think the letter in question should have been rejected.

I myself would be the last to identify a movement like Theosophy with Hinduism alone; but in a country where Hinduism is the prevailing creed, a little extra tendency towards it is natural. But surely, if a protest for general good and from generous intent is alone sary, it can be couched in language coming from a fairer and larger spirit.

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CURRENT EVENTS.

THE Legislative Council of the Government of India has had a somewhat heavy session. It has passed, among others, three inportant Bills, each embodying a characteristic feature of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. The Ancient Monuments Bill bears witness to the archæological zeal of a ruler of literary tastes, whose reverence for the past is not less noticeable than his mental hold on the future. The Bill was passed without a dissentient voice, after a very interest ing and informing speech by the Viceroy, setting forth what the Government had already done and what it intended to do for the preservation and the proper use of the beautiful and historic month ments which are scattered over the length and breadth of this The East is a graveyard of forgotten achievements, ancient land. where the reverent injunction of the poet comes peculiarly home to the mind, in its application to ancient monuments, as the post intended it to remind us of the evanescence of human life:

> Tread lightly, for a thousand hearts unseen Might now be beating in this misty green; Here are the herbs that once were pretty cheeks, Here the remains of those that once have been.

So sang Abu'l Ala, the precursor of Omar Khayyam. there are architectural beauties buried in the misty green, whose disappearance is no less lamentable than that of pretty cheeks Fortunately, it is not quite so inevitable. It is somewhat significant that ficant that a serious and systematic policy of preserving Indian antiquities should not have be a preserved to the Vicerovalty of antiquities should not have been laid down before the Vicerovalty of the twenty-sixth Corrections the twenty-sixth Governor-General, though it must be acknowledged that commendable if that commendable, if somewhat fitful, activity in that direction has already been shown by att already been shown by others, whose labours have made the present steady interest in archæology possible.

The Co-operative Credit Societies Act has vast potential in it. An Act of that him I within it. An Act of that kind can only give legislative recognition and aid to movements which the state of and aid to movements which, for their success, must almost entirely depend upon the character, for their success, must almost lit lays depend upon the character and capacity of the people.

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down the specifications of the machinery to be built up. Who will build it up and who will work it? The Viceroy referred in his speech on the Bill to Sir Frederick Nicholson's intention to return to India after retirement and to help in the initiation of the movement in suitable localities. This announcement sheds a brighter ray of hope on the problem of rural co-operative credit than do the sections of the Act. Sir Frederick has studied the systems of rural credit prevailing in Europe: he is by far the best authority on the subject in India, and it is largely through his prompting that the fovernment has arrived at the stage of at least passing an Act, which summarises the principles on which agricultural banks may be successfully worked. "Find Raiffeisen" was the burden of Sir F. Nicholson's famous report on rural credit societies. If Sir Frederick will himself be the Raiffeisen of India, the success of the movement may be more certain than it now appears to be.

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After a pitched battle, the Hon'ble Mr. (now Sir) T. Raleigh's Universities Bill has been passed. The Viceroy, whose sanguine temperament is so often mirrored in his glowing phraseology, believes that it will have a "profound effect on the future of the Indian people." We do not feel inclined to scale the heights of a such a stupendous measure: the only outline that stands out boldly, as perceived by our vision, is that it empowers the Universities to exercise a stricter control over affiliated colleges. The spread of western education has produced and is producing a profound effect on the people of holia, but the Universities neither create the demand for such education, nor do they really supply it. However, a figure of speech is not out of place when speaking of University affairs.

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The principles laid down in the Universities Act for the control collegiate education have been extended by a Resolution of the Government of India to secondary education. The main object his intended to secure is that young men should be trained schools and colleges which appeal to the imagination by their factors surroundings and their prestige, which enjoy a stability apply qualified and properly paid teachers, and which seek to drough mercenary motives. Much depends upon the way in which seprinciples are applied to local conditions. Yet the object of schools of England is in itself noble, and will be recognised as such augurated, and where already inaugurated, consistently main-

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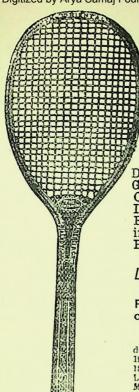
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Sir Edward Law has been enabled once more to present prosperity Budget "—a Budget showing a large surplus; but me prosperity Budget is announced, because the Finance Mission is announced. reduction of taxation is announced, because the Finance Minister's too conscious that "there is nothing like permanence in any country too conscious that "there is nothing like permanence in any country too conscious that "there is nothing like permanence in any country too conscious that "there is nothing like permanence in any country too conscious that "there is nothing like permanence in any country too conscious that "there is nothing like permanence in any country too conscious that "there is nothing like permanence in any country too conscious that "there is nothing like permanence in any country too conscious that "there is nothing like permanence in any country too conscious that "there is nothing like permanence in any country too conscious that "there is nothing like permanence in any country too conscious that "there is nothing like permanence in any country too conscious that "there is nothing like permanence in any country to the permanence in a permanence in any country to the permanence in any country to the permanence in any in the comparative relations between income and expenditure Notwithstanding this want of permanence there is such a the as reduction of taxation in every country, the reduction being its not permanent. There was a reduction of taxation last year, at if the Finance Minister continues to have a larger surplus than be knows what to do with, he will have to yield in spite of himself Sir Edward Law has been about the luckiest Finance Minister of the last forty years, being able to present an unbroken succession of Budgetary surpluses. His good fortune has been traced to what is known as the "currency trick," the mischief of which has not, it is maintained, yet shown itself on the agricultural classes, but will compel attention when the prices of their produce begin to fall consequence of American competition and other causes.

By far the most important speech delivered in the course of the debate on the Budget was that of H. H. the Aga Khan, who, leaving all matters of account to his Hindu colleagues, as his imperial co-religionists did in former times, dwelt upon the contribution while the Protected Princes may be expected, and would be glad, to make towards Imperial defence, disbanding their ill-trained and inefficial armies, as they are by courtesy designated, and upon the bestor! every year of three or four commissions in the Army on the men bers of the Imperial Cadet Corps. Both are proposals of much importance, involving a radical departure from the policy of district bitherte fell hitherto followed towards people who do not deserve it: if they are carried out in consultation with the Feudatory Chiefs, they will for landmarks in the military history of India and in the history of genuine Imperialism.

The Mission to Tibet has not passed beyond Guru, and three dred men representing the same passed beyond Guru, and three dressed have hundred men representing the flower of Tibetan manhood have already fallen, the state of Tibetan manhood have already fallen—the result of the ignorance of science as applied the art of killing. The the art of killing. The object of the Mission is stated to be obtain the signature of the mission is stated to be obtain the signature. obtain the signature of the Tibetan Government to the treaty of the Mission is stated to the Mission is stated t 1890. As the Mission is marching forward, it is laying a telegraphic line for its own safety. Will the Tibetans have none of the telegraph? Civilisation has possessed to the treat of the telegraph? graph? Civilisation has penetrated the Land of Hermits: "Ill not stay there?

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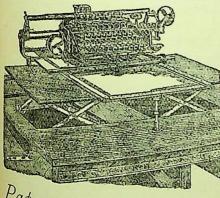
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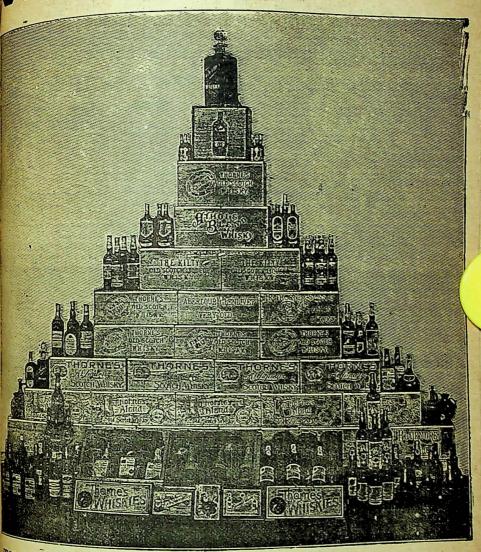
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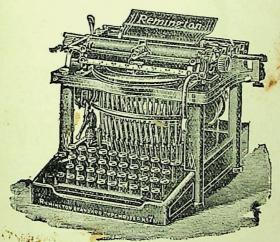
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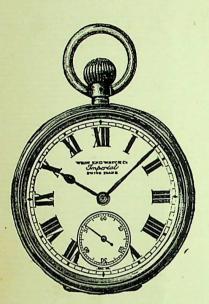
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MAY, 1904.

No. 31.

INDIA IN EGYPT.

AN EGYPTIAN DRAMA ON AN INDIAN SUBJECT IN THE SECOND CENTURY, A. D.

NE of the most remarkable characteristics of the ancient world in contrast with modern days is the singular want of that curiosity which makes travellers and explorers. Exceptions there certainly were—Herodotus, Strabo, Pausanias will occur at once. Yet the desire to visit foreign countries was not the leading motive with any of these distinguished men. Herodotus thought mainly of history, Strabo of geographical science, Pausanias of religion. The other travellers of whom we hear were seldom urged by a spirit of exploration, but performed arduous journeys or submitted to prolonged residence abroad under the stimulus of some material inducement, martial, diplomatic, or mercantile. If the Greeks and Romans, from Alexander the Great to Alexander Severus, had been animated by the inquisitive spirit of modern Europeans, the head of the Nile will not have been hidden so long, and America would not have been left to be discovered by Columbus.

Their incuriousness appears especially remarkable as it respects India, a country not only of the deepest interest, but one with which commercial relations, tending to encourage and facilitate travel, actually existed. Commercial intercourse between Egypt and India was well established from the age of the Ptolomies to the age of Justinian, and it would certainly have been thought that the outward bound the travel sometimes have carried Greeks with sufficient enterprise to return beyond the limits of their factory. If such there were, no lecond of their explorations remains, probably none was ever made. It is accounts we possess, such as Strabo's and Arrian's, are diligently to the living, first-hand knowledge of the traveller. To all appear-

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ance, the people of the West merely resorted to India for commer. cial purposes and had no idea that their countrymen could be interes. ted in the "manners, councils, governments," of the dwellers on the further side of the Indian Ocean. It was not until the age of Justinian, about a century before maritime communication between India and Europe was interrupted by the Saracen conquest of Egypt, that Cosmas Indicopleustes, a merchant turned divine, surnamed for the number of voyages he had made to India in his original capacity, inserted among the eleven absurd books of his treatise "Concerning the Flatness of the Earth," one of real value on Indian commerce, and, to a certain extent, geography. Yet even Cosmas has little to say except upon matters directly or indirectly affecting merchandise: of perception of India's picturesqueness, interest in its language, religion, history, or social condition, or any of the numerous circumstances that would fire the imagination or move the sympathies of the modern traveller, there is hardly a trace. Intelligent interest in distant countries, affirming the principle that "the proper study of mankind is man," is distinctly a modern development.

There were, nevertheless, in classical times two links of interest between India and the general European public—the literary and the personal. Bacchus's conquest of India was an accepted tradition, of which every panther in an antique work of art was a memorial; and which in the later Imperial epoch inspired two epic poems, the "Bassarica" of Dionysius, in the reign of Diocletian, now lost, and the "Dionysiaca" of Nonnus, about the beginning of the fifth century, preserved in all their voluminousness. The personal element would chiefly exist among those who had relatives trading to India and would be fostered by the returned mariners' stories of their scapes and perils. It might naturally be expected to prevail most in Egypt, the seat of commerce with India, and the existence of a genuine interest in Indian adventure among the Graco-Egyptian population of the Imperial period is evidenced by an exceedingly curious remnant. curious remnant of antiquity recently brought to light, which it is the business of this paper to make known to the Indian public.

This remarkable piece is one of the fragments on papyros recovered from the excavations at Oxyrhynchus, in Lower Egypt, carried and still being carried on by Messrs. Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt. Few discoveries in classical archæology have so

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have I Iphiger Profess signally constituted an epoch as the revelation that many spots in Egypt were perfect mines of fragments of written papyri, Egyptian, Greek, and Saracen, entombed in the dry soil, or pasted together to make the paste-board coverings of mummy cases, or even built into the mud walls of modern towns. Some splendid discoveries of nearly complete works have resulted—Aristotle's "Constitution of Athens," the Mimes of Herondas, many odes of Bacchylides, and one of Timotheus. In the main, however, the finds have tended to illustrate the social order of ancient Egypt, both in Ptolemaic and Roman times, consisting of wills, legal judgments and arguments, official documents of all descriptions, letters, and accounts. Not the least welcome are those which reveal a stratum of popular literature below the strictly classical, giving hints of the romances, poems, and dramatic performances, which amused the less cultivated public. Foremost among these is the remarkable production of which we are to give an account, which turns upon adventure in India, and shows actors personating Indians introduced upon the stage at Oxyrhynchus. The piece, published by the Egypt Exploration Fund in the third part of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, 1903, is described by the editors as "a low comedy or farce." This description is strictly correct, and it may be added that the relation of the piece to the productions of the classical Greek stage may be defined as nearly that of a music hall performance to the legitimate drama of our own time. The subject is the liberation by her brother and his comrade of a Greek maiden from captivity on a coast of the Indian Ocean, an action involving the appearance of natives, who are made to amuse the Egyptian audience much in the same way as the Cannibal Islander in Planché's extravaganza amused a former generation among Ourselves. An element of parody may perhaps be detected; the means employed for the liberation of the captive are those by which Ulysses escapes the Cyclop; and the situation, rather inferred for in the port. in the portion of it which remains, of a barbarian king in love with a foreign maiden, might, had it been more thoroughly worked out, have passed and have passed and the relations of have passed for a grotesque reproduction of the relations of lphigenia. Iphigenia and Thoas in the "Iphigenia in Tauris" of Euripides. Professor Crusius has pointed out that the situation is nearly that

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of Antheia, the heroine of the "Ephesiaca," a romance by Xenophon of Ephesus, which may belong to the fourth century. Antheia, to elude the advances of the Indian prince Psammis, represents herself as vowed to the service of Isis, and lives for some time unmolested under Psammis's protection, precisely the situation of Iphigenia and Thoas.

The fragment of the curious piece preserved to us occupies three columns of a papyrus, the reverse side of which is occupied by a portion of another dramatic composition, upon which also we shall have to say a few words. Both beginning and end are wanting how much is lost at the commencement is difficult to tell, but the deficiency at the end is probably inconsiderable. The handwriting of both MSS. is of the second century. Professor Crusius thinks that the piece may be somewhat earlier than the Roman period, B.C. 30 Great deference is due to his opinion, but we should hardly have thought that the slight literary merit of the play would have carried it down for two centuries, and should have been inclined to refer it to the latter part of the first century at the earliest. It by no means follows from the circumstance of the MSS. being found at Oxyrhynchus that it was originally composed for representation there, but there can be little doubt that it was acted in the city, and it probably gives a very fair notion of the living drama of Roman Egypt during the early Christian centuries. As such it contributes something towards filling up a gap in dramatic history: its main interest to us, however, consists in its unexpected revelation of India as a scene for Egyptian dramatists, and its specimens of what may possibly prove to be a bona-fide Indian language, although in a very corrupt form.

It does not appear how the fair Charition, the heroine of the drama, came to find herself among the barbarians—probably either by shipwreck or piracy. The information would more likely have been conveyed in a prologue spoken by her, or in a dialogue by tween her and the buffoon of the piece, if this graceless person was represented as having throughout shared her captivity. It may be collected that she was acting as priestess in the temple of an Indian goddess, apparently recognised as identical with Isis or Some scene had probably been enacted in which the Indian who, though speaking his native language to his countrymen, is able

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perpress himself in Greek, was represented as urging his suit. In this be "Iphigenia in Tauris" might be parodied, and the Indian costumes and complexion would contribute to enhance the comic effect. Charition's residence in India has lasted long enough for her brother to have arrived to rescue her. At the beginning of the remnant of the drama a member of the rescue party appears, inviting Charition to rejoice with him upon his escape from some peril, whether terrestrial or marine does not appear. The ship has not yet cast anchor and he departs to bring her to. Meanwhile, a party of Indian amazons, carrying huge bows, return from the chase, and fall upon the buffoon, when Charition protests. They must be supposed to out the stage, for immediately afterwards the adventurer returns announcing that the wind is favourable for escape, and evidently bringing, Ulysses-like, the wine by means of which escape is to be effected. He summons Charition to embark and fetch away her property, carrying off also, if she can, some of the offerings to the goddess, a proof that she was represented as living in the temple and officiaing as priestess. Charition rebukes the sacrilegious design, and declares that she does not regard even her own property—all her desire is to behold her father again. Meanwhile the Indian women re-enter, accompanied by the King; and the buffoon, doubtless with comic gestures and byplay now lost to us, proceeds to administer the wine to all and sundry, under the direction of Charition. From the volubility of their conversation ensuing, the ladies may be assumed to have taken very kindly to it, but their remarks, whether really conveyed in some Indian language, or only in a gibberish supposed represent it, are at present unintelligible. The scene is accom-Panied with abundant drumming, and at length the king is Trought up to the point of declaiming in Greek verse, as he dances wildly and calls for his mystic drum:

A boundless barbaric dance I lead, O Goddess Moon.

With wild measure and barbaric step.

Ye Indian chiefs, bring the drum of mystic sound.

The frenzied Seric step.

It may be collected that the temple at which Charition ministered was a moon temple, and that like the heroine of the "Ephesiaca," she would be collected that the temple at which Charles are Ephesiaca," she would be regarded by her own countrymen as a priestess of Isis. From this point the piece assumes so largely the character of panto436

mime that the dialogue is little more than stage direction. It would seem that the Indians generally fall asleep, but that one, who probably wishes to oppose the departure of Charition, is thrown down by her brother, and bound with "the sacred girdle." Ultimately the entire Greek party appears safe on shipboard and putting to sea, Charition expressing her apprehension of the perils which may yet be in store for her in two verses, incongruous in metre, but so superior in style to anything else in the play that they are probably borrowed from serious dramas for the sake of comic contrast. The concluding speeches are lost, but they can have amounted to only a few lines.

It will be seen that the piece has few pretensions to literary merit. Such distinction, however, was not the aim of the writer, who needed no more dialogue than was needful to make his action comprehensible and afford a vehicle for the coarse pleasantries of his clime. The Indian costumes and gibberish, the constant drumming and screeching, and a quantity of ludicrous by-play of which the text affords barely a hint, would amply suffice for the amusement of the public. In our day the play would have possessed the additional attraction of Indian scenery, but it may be doubted whether the resources of the Theatre Royal at Oxyrhynchus were considerable in this department. It might be otherwise at Alexandria where the piece may have been performed in the first instance. As it cannot have been an isolated example, it implies the existence of regular authorship for the Egyptian stage at its period. The playwright's productions, it is probable, seldom aspired to the dignity of literature, or existed otherwise than in transcripts made for stage purposes; hence their almost total disappearance. The greatest service of the striking modern discoveries of ancient documents, long hidden in the soil of Egypt, is to show what varied activity went on below the surface presented to us by history. What the journalist would have preserved the historian has preserved the historian has preserved the historian of the has necessarily let slip. There can be no stronger indication of the immense value of immense value of newspapers for the historian of culture. Valuable in a literary point of the property of the in a literary point of view as many of the recovered papyri are, they do not, as a whole do not, as a whole, constitute so much the resurrection of a buried literature as the literature as the resurrection of a buried life.

The most remarkable feature of the little drama is the number of Indian words, or words intended to pass for Indian, put into the

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number into the mouths of the Indian women and other native characters. Were these a genuine specimen, however corrupt, of any Indian language these a sommencement of the Christian era, they would form a valuable contribution to philological science, but it is highly probable that they are mere gibberish. The introduction of barbarian speakers, talking in what is meant to pass for their own language, was no novelty in the Greek drama. In the "Birds" of Aristophanes, Neptune and Hercules, despatched as plenipotentiaries to make peace with the birds, are accompanied by a Triballian god as representative of the barbarian divinities. The utterances of this personage are at first absolutely unintelligible, and the attempts of Hercules to interpret them appear by no means convincing. When, however, the action has reached the point when his casting vote is indispensable, he delivers himself in highly barbarous but still quite intelligible Greek; but whether his orginal ναβαισατρέυ and σαυνάκα βακταρικρουσα were genuine Triballian or not will never be known. It may be easier to obtain a clue to the meaning of the Indian words, if real words they be-the key would in this case probably be found in late Pali or old Prakrit. Dr. Grierson has pointed out that where the Indians are apparently represented as drinking, there occurs the phrase πανουμ βρητι which may represent pano amrta "drink" or "life" and "nectar," which would suit the context remarkably well. When Charition interferes to protect the buffoon, she (who has been long enough in India to learn the language) employs the term alemaka, which Dr. Grierson connects in the Pali alam, "enough," "stop." In another place the King says brathis, which seems to be translated by a Greek as lots; in another a woman returning from the thase exclaims Lalle, to which another replies Laitalianta Lalle. The repetition certainly looks as though the writer had some defihite idea in his mind. For our readers' amusement and as a stimulus to their ingenuity we will quote a short passage. The King says:—
Bere V Bere Kouzei damun petrekio paklei kortames bere ialero depomenzi petrekio damut Kinze paxei zebes lolo bia bradis Kottos. All—Kottos.

This certainly looks like mere jargon, yet it is not always safe to conclude that there can be no meaning under what appears unintelligible. In one of the most comic scenes in Molière's "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme," M. Jourdain is made to believe that his daughter is sought in marriage by the son of the Grand Turk, who is also

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prepared to invest M. Jourdain with the dignity of mamamouch, The supposed Ottoman prince, really, of course, the young lady's lover in disguise, appears properly costumed and delivers himself of sundry sentences in what passes for Turkish, which are duly rendered into French by a supposed interpreter, in reality his knavish valet and contriver of the entire stratagem. At length the pretended Turk closes the interview with Bel-men, which Covielle gravely renders: "He says that you must go quickly with him to prepare yourself for the ceremony, that he may then see your daughter and conclude the marriage." This is almost too much even for M. Jourdain. "What," he asks, "so many things in two words?" "The Turkish language," Covielle solemnly replies, "is remarkable above all others for its pregnancy and conciseness," and M. Jourdain is fully satisfied This might seem no more than excellent fooling; but M. Vambéry informs us in his travels that the Turcoman chief who then ruled over Yarkand placed guards at his frontiers with instructions to question every traveller as to the extent of his knowledge of the countries from which he had come. If he evinced any signs of superior in formation, he was straightway escorted to Yarkand and detained until the Ameer was satisfied that he had told all he knew. If, however he replied to every question Bel-men, he was allowed to proceed on his journey, Bel-men signifying "nothing at all." Hence it appears that Molière knew some Turkish, and that his apparent nonsense conceals a brilliant stroke of humour inserted for its own sake, as he must have been well aware that it would be entirely lost upon both his audience and his readers.

We have mentioned that the Indian farce is accompanied by another dramatic piece, written upon the reverse of the papyrus. The date of transcription appears to be nearly the same, and both productions are characteristic of the form assumed by the Greek drama its decay. Both carry us back to a better age, for as the Indian play may be regarded as a degraded form of the class of drama represented for us by the "Cyclop" of Euripides, the other is a survival of the Sicilian mimes of Sophron transplanted to Egypt under the Ptolemies, and there exemplified in the recently recovered mimes of Herondas. Of these we have an example, translated into hexameter verse, in the second idyll of Theocritus, where a woman is represented as compounding philtres to win back the affections of

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per lover. This is known to be founded upon a mime of Sophron, where several characters must have appeared, but the poem of Theocritus several monologue. Such appears to be also the case in the Egyptian mine, though other personages are represented as present upon the stage, and it is possible that a few words may belong to them. the main, however, as the affinities of the farce are with modern pantomime, so are those of the mime with modern recitation. entire burden falls upon a single actress, who is certainly provided with situations sufficiently drastic to evolve whatever tragic power the may have preserved. In the first of these, the motive of which is that of one of the mimes of Herondas, she appears as a wicked mistress, ordering the death of a slave who has refused to gratify her passions, and of the female slave for whose sake he has disdained her. In the next scene she is plotting the poisoning of an old man, her husband as it would seem, in concert with two slaves. The piece ends abruptly. It is possibly written in an impetuous, agitated style, full of sudden changes of theme and sentiment, which it is not always easy to follow. In this it appears to reproduce the tyle of Sophron. In the hands of a performer competent to represent overmastering passion it would certainly be effective. So much would depend upon facial expression and byplay that we may feel confident that, as in the Roman mime, the conventional stage mask was discarded, and the character was represented by a Woman.

RICHARD GARNETT.

ABUL FAZEL.

HO could ever have imagined that the son of the persecuted and hunted Shaikh Mubarak, whose vigour of intellect and freedom of thought had made such powerful enemies as Shaikh-ul. Sadar and Mukhdum-ul-Mulk, the spiritual leaders of Islam in India, would rise one day to be the minister and friend of Akbar, and cut his way through such powerful and innumerable enemies who blocked his way and tried hard to keep him down? One man held out to him a helping hand, and he recognised his profound know. ledge, breadth of view and his originality of intellect. Abul Fazel lived in a literary era, when the writing of history was very commonso very unlike the old Indian way which made little of man and his works and allowed him to slip into the darkness from which he had come to light. Abul Fazel himself, while writing the life of Akba, did not forget to record the chief events of his own life. Besides, his favourite friends were men of literary tastes, and they have not failed to write about him. The epigrammatic sputter of Badoun, who was educated by Shaikh Mubarak and who disturbs Abul Fazel's apotheosis for the purposes of renewed attacks, is the result of a distance of the purposes of renewed attacks, is the result of a distance of the purposes of renewed attacks, is the result of a distance of the purposes of renewed attacks, is the result of a distance of the purposes of renewed attacks, is the result of a distance of the purposes of renewed attacks, is the result of a distance of the purposes of renewed attacks, is the result of a distance of the purposes of renewed attacks, is the result of a distance of the purposes of renewed attacks, is the result of a distance of the purposes of renewed attacks, is the result of a distance of the purpose torted vision. He wrote in a sort of frenzy when he saw his rival rise so high above himself, and imputed to him all manner of follies and crimes. "It is vanity," says Abul Fazel, "to trace some prominent link in the infinite chain of human births. To talk of one's high descent is to trace some problems. descent is to trade upon the bones of the great departed ones. smoke that rises from a flaming fire does not flash with the brightness which gave it is a hoasted which gave it birth." But he was thrown among people who boasted more of their party. more of their noble descent than their own deserts, and so he has left ample records in ample records in proof of his own pure descent, for the amusement of those who first in the amusement of those who first in the amusement amusement in the amusement of the amusement in the amus of those who find in antiquity of descent a vital condition of high ability. Abul Farel ability. Abul Fazel was descended from a long line of learned and

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traverse the mo the torn people. His ancestor, a Shaikh Musa, left his own country (Yemen), tired of the world and its ways, in the fifteenth century, and travelled on into Sindh. As he was passing through a small illage "rail," he fell in love with a young girl and married her, and ettling down in the same village, lived to see his sons and grandsons. b the 16th century his grandson. Shaikh Khizar, journeyed further astward, attracted by the fame of learned people, and settled at Magore. Here was born Shaikh Mubarak, the father of Abul Fazel, the death of his parents, travelled all over the country, in pursuit of the devious course of the sacred torch," prosecuting his studies with unusual eagerness and aptitude, undisturbed by the prmoil of events which were taking place around him. At last he ame to Agra and settled near Char Bagh, a villa which Baber had wilt on the left bank of the Jamna. Here were born those two of his sons whose lives were destined to be so closely interwoven with the thief events of their times.

It was here that Abul Fazel, on the 14th January, 1551, "descended from the world of ideas into that of form," as he puts it, and received the parental kiss of an affectionate father. He was little more than a year when he began to talk. At five he was able to lead and write, and stood at the gate of knowledge. Before he had completed his fifteenth year he had imbibed much learning and could hold philosophic discussions with his father and other Scholars. These discussions expanded his intellect, but did not satisfy his higher yearnings. He found the learned Moulvis in the deadening of formality and convention; he struggled manfully with his doubts, and often, when he was struck with the limitations of the uman understanding, would tears trickle down his cheeks; often did be try to plunge his intellectual cravings in a blaze of faith and devotion, but his vigorous intellect refused to submit to what appeared to it the instruments of superstition; and he turned away from books and sught the company of fakirs. From these wanderings he was drawn b school again by the influence of an old fellow-student to whom he was much attached. Once more he took to books and surrendered bayersed with attached. Once more he took to books and of the strength of bygone ages and bayersed with the wisdom of haversed varied fields of knowlege, assimilating the wisdom of the most dissimilar times and countries. Often as he sat patching the torn leaves of the ancient books and pondering over the missing

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words and pages, the very ideas of the original authors would stream into his mind and he would fill up the gaps. There was a book which had lost half its pages; he re-wrote it, and when a complete copy was discovered, it was found to contain only thirty-seven words differing from his composition. For ten long years, undisturbed by the tormenting needs of life, and forgetful of his physical wants, he pursued his studies, with steady devotion.

During the unrest which followed the flight of Humaun from India and in the reigns of Shershah and Salim, Mubarak and his family passed their days in comparative poverty, but with that peace of mind which true knowledge affords, to its votaries. When Akbar ascended the throne as the herald of peace, the fame of Shaikh Mubarak's learning, the erudition of Abul Fazel and the vivacity of Faizi's verse attracted people to their house, and great persons like Mirza Aziz Koka, Akbar's foster brother, paid them visits. Shaikh Mubarak now had a large family, and as the sairguls (grants to the learned) were now being distributed, he preferred a request for a hundred bighas of land for the maintenance of his son, the rising poet. This was, however, met by derision and scom, and father and son were driven out of the court of Mukhdumul-Mulk, who exercised more than kingly power. Returning home, Mubarak started a school. His proud and unfettered spirit rose above all cabals, conforming only to the inspiration of conscience and of reason unclouded by prejudice or passion. So he began to teach his pupils the higher wisdom which he had acquired, and this gave offence to the Ulmas, who began to think of taking some strong measures to silence the heterodox Shaikh. In the meanwhile, Abul Fazel and his father were once on a visit at the house of a friend which was unexpectedly honoured by the presence of the Shaikh-ul-Sadar who happened to open a discussion with Abul Fazel. Abul Fazel eloquent with the energy of youth, brimming over with the learning and wisdom he had acquired, pressed him so hard in argument that "the vapours of his arrogance escaped" and he left the house immediately, much annoyed and offended with Shaikh Mubarak and his clever young He saw in their tolerant but enlightened manner an opposition to orthodoxy actuated by no higher motive than greed and want than greed and vanity, and as Abul Fazel had touched him in a vital part—his spiritual part—his spiritual pride—he was not slow in gratifying his pique.

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Seeking permission from the young Emperor to chastise the heretical plubarak for his free thought, as a warning to others, he caused an enquiry to be held. While the tempest was brewing, the Shaikh and his sons were pursuing their peaceful meditations. They were awakened one midnight by a man who brought them the news of the impending trial, which did not disturb Mubarak, who, on the contrary, expressed his faith in God and His Justice, but the poetical Faizi was greatly frightened: he laughed at the philosophical consolations of his father and counselled him to escape, saying that if the (Mubarak) would not leave the house he would put an end to his own life, so that he might not live to see his beloved father in isopardy. Shaikh Mubarak yielded, and in the darkness of the night he and his two sons left the house and disappeared. It was in their wanderings, when their presence in any place of shelter excited less pity than alarm, that Abul Fazel broke out:—

Where are the men, where are the friends, alas! Ah! where the faith, sincerity and love I look for?—It is gone—a globe of glass Cracked, shivered, vanished in the air above; All lonely in the darkest gloom we pass, Though earth is teeming with the human clan. Some silent change dissolves the glittering mass. We wander, for we cannot find a man.

At last they found refuge in the house of a poor gardener. Abul Pazel, struck with the goodness which the poor rustic manifested, became rather suspicious. Moreover, he did not wish to implicate such a poor old man, and outlaws and if he was found harbouring them he would be so told him that they were dragged to death with them. The gardener, however, saw his duty, cheerfully found a refuge for them in an empty house hear his, where they found breathing time. From this house Maikh Mubarak wrote to Mirza Aziz Koka, Akbar's generous foster brother, who interceded for him, saying that the good and that it was a lived in indigence, enjoying no rent-free lands, and that it was unjust to persecute a poor defenceless man. Akbar gave anassuring reply, but he could not go openly against the Ulmas, and so his word property and his devoted so his words did not guarantee safety. The Shaikh and his devoted Sons got tired of their lives and returned home, their feet covered

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with blisters and their garments in rags, having in a short period with blisters and their value of friendship in this world Only a few months intervened between their flight and their unexpected exalts. tion. Faizi, sent as a prisoner by the Ulmas, was received as a friend by the Emperor, who appreciated his keen wit and admired his learning. Though Abul Fazel himself looked with uneasiness at court life, which would rob him of his contemplative leisure—and he wished more to converse with the priests of the Parsis and the Padres of Portugal than to enter the imperial court, a place which seemed to him fit for spendthrifts and idlers, their cabals and mutual intrigues, and their solemn, laborious idleness—he was persuaded by his father and brother to accept the situation, and so in the beginning of the new year 1574, he entered the court, and laid at the feet of his imperial master a commentary on a chapter of the Quran. So affectionate was the reception he met with, that he forsook seclusion and resolved to tread the unfamiliar path. On this subject he writes in the Akbar-Nameh:

I was sick of the learned of my own land; my mind knew no rest; my learning made me conceited, and I wished to lead a life of proud retirement. My father and brother advised me to attend the court, hoping that in the Emperor I would find a leader to the sublime worlds of thought. In vain did I resist their admonitions, and happy indeed am I now that I have found in my sovereign a guide to the world of action and a comfort in lonely retirement. In him meet my longings after faith and my desire to do my appointed work in the world. He is the orient where the light of Form and Ideal dawns, and it is he who taught me that the work of the world, multifarious as it is, may yet harmonise with the spiritual unity of truth.

On the other hand, this meeting with Abul Fazel was the begining of consolation for Akbar. Often had Akbar sat on the stone outside
the inner palace of Fatehpur-Sikri, meditating upon the why and the
wherefore of things, marvelling at the readiness with which the Ulmas,
the spiritual guides of his empire, dissevered themselves from the spirit
of justice and charity. He could not conceive a Providence
loved some and hated others among His creatures. His whole
rebelled against such an idea, so much at variance with the sun
shines and the rain that falls on the good and the bad alike.
groped in vain in the darkness caused by the warring creeds, to find

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asolution in harmony with man's highest aspiration. It was then hat a kind fate sent to him Abul Fazel who, though unable to disperse the clouds altogether from the mind of the great truth-seeker, disperse the with living gold, and Akbar for the first time heard a roice coming from the heart of things flashing like a sunbeam in the gloom; and the deep unrest of Akbar's unsatisfied soul met its earliest solace in the effective and sympathetic expression of the same from the lips of a learned man like Abul Fazel. It was during his conversations with this philosopher that Akbar resolved to follow the higher ideals, raised far above the petty brawls of sects and parties. Abul Fazel himself felt conscious of a strange peace sealing over him as he gave expression to those thoughts which had masumed him from boyhood, as he looked up to the dawn of intellectual activity which was shortly to broaden into noonday light and chase away from the country the dark shadow of bigotry and tranny and establish tolerance and justice, equality and freedom. However, there was an interruption, as Akbar went to Bengal and Abul Fazel remained behind, while Faizi accompanied the Emperor. But Akbar did not forget the man who gave expression to his own thoughts in language which for the first time made them clear to his mind, nor did Abul Fazel seek seclusion when in the Emperor he discovered a fellow-seeker after truth, tormented by the same doubts and pangs as himself. So when the Emperor returned to Ratehpur, Abul Fazel was the first person to pay him homage and present a commentary on the ayat victory, a suitable offering after the great victory Akbar had gained in Bengal.

This event marks an epoch in the career of Abul Fazel. He was given high rank in the Durbar and became the companion and friend of Akbar. His good manners, his intellectual attainments, his comprehensive and varied knowledge, his geniality of temper and devotion to the Emperor, completely won the confidence of Akbar, who now always turned to him for counsel and sat with him for hours talking to him of his mental torments and troubles, and deriving comfort and satisfaction from his philosophical conversation. As Abul Fazel talked to him, formulating the questions which stirred his innermost being, interpreting and of his reason and judgment, pointing out the contradictions and

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inconsistencies of the documents, the incompatibility between many of the acts and the teachings of seemingly holy persons, while the conception of justice towards a heretic did not exist in the minds of the Ulmas, definite ideas took shape in the mind of the great reformer. He had not the complacent spirit which could view with patience abuses that could be remedied. To him wrong-doing and injustice irrational prejudices and wrong ideas, were evils to be combated and overthrown. These talks trained and developed his intellect and enabled him to work out definite schemes for the well-being of his people. It was due to the influence of Abul Fazel that India had a short epoch of wisdom in so long a chronicle of folly, and that Akbar broke loose from the Ulmas and introduced purity of administration and insisted on religious tolerance.

Abul Fazel recognised the impotence of finite human understanding to form a theorem of the infinite, but that did not lead him to overlook the inborn cravings in the human heart, the profound and inextinguishable verities in nature. All he wanted to do was to lop off the overgrowth, which was obscuring the light, to restore vigour to the sacred Trunk. He strove to bring about a graceful development of pure belief emancipated from dogma and superstition, He wished to lift the whole nation from the stifling gloom of narrow creeds into the broad and boundless light of day. Knowing that it was their belief in what they deemed highest which clouded their vision, and confident in his own powers to convert the Ulmas to a purer and much higher belief, he asked Akbar to have a place for discussion, where all the true believers could meet and discuss the tangled problems. And so there arose in the vast grounds of Fatehpur-Sikri the permanent symbol of that tolerance which was to make Akbar's reign remarkable—the Temple of Wisdom Truth. From the centre of the ground floor rose a thick columns some ten feet in height, on the top of whose capital was placed a large entablature joining its four corners to the four corners of the room, and connecting it with four galleries, each communicating with the centre. the centre. It was here that the imperial inquirer, supported by Abul Fazel would a large that the imperial inquirer, supported by Abul Fazel, would take his seat on a carpet. Apart, yet not dissevered from the other costs of the costs of t from the other seats, his place in the centre of the dialectic hall was symbol of Akbar's and a carpet. Apart, yet not disaster that the centre of the dialectic hall was a symbol of Akbar's and a carpet. symbol of Akbar's eclectism. It was here that the Ulmas, orthodor heads of the establishment of the lestablishment of the lestablish heads of the established Church, the Shia teachers, the heterodox

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thinkers and the learned men of the court, were invited to discuss thinkers and dogmas of Islam and other creeds. It was Abul fazel who furnished its justification, while the Ulmas shivered with rage, extremely apprehensive lest these open discussions should perchance discredit some old document or disprove some dogma or shake their faith in some mystery. Abul Fazel stood now in his proper place, like the needle of a sharp rock, learned and quickwitted, superior in understanding and attainments. If they quoted an authority in support of an unjust tradition, he questioned its hasis; if they sought to support a custom, the light of his reason exposed its unreasonableness, and his learning laid bare its lack of foundation in authority. It was wrong of Badouni to have called him an enemy of all religions. Abul Fazel started these discussions in the hope of leading the whole community to light and reason; his object was to secure tolerance which could only result from general enlightenment, and enlightenment could be secured only by throwing the fullest light of reason and commonsense on the traditional side of religion. He never mocked at any set of men, whether Hindus or Mohamedans who led good lives; he attacked the beliefs which some good men held sacred, but if the good men were content to live in darkness, it was no fault of his that they were hit by the smooth stones shot from his sling against the children of darkness and wrong. The Ulmas often disagreed among themselves, and hurled at each other accusations of godlessness and heresy. Again and again they declared themselves scandalised by the audacity with which sacred topics were brought under discussion, and had recourse to violence in the very presence of Akbar. But angry cries, clenched fists and flaming eyes alike failed to confound or paralyse the calm and invincible logic of Abul Fazel. Shaikh-ul-Sadar and Mukhdum-Mulk, the two leaders of the great hierarchy, hurled personal accusations at each other and brought to light the deception and craft of their own party, thereby betraying the inner working of their thurch. Akbar was disgusted with their behaviour and tired of their Weless wrangling, but the Ulmas, as the spiritual guides of the empire, Were all-powerful; they exercised powers of life and death, and were tegarded as the only exponents of Mohamedan law. Akbar's innermost Soul rebelled against such a constitution, but he felt himself helpless, Abul Fazel found a way to overcome this hampering institution.

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In one of the Thursday discussions he raised the question of the powers of a King. "Royalty is a light emanating from God," he argued; "a ray from the sun, illuminator of the universe; a receptacle of all virtues. Modern language calls it Farriezidi (the divine light), while the tongue of antiquity called it Kiyan Khawarih or sublime halo; and the Emperor, as recipient of the divine light, was the spiritual as well as the temporal ruler of all true believers." He quoted his authorities, marshalled his arguments in such a way that the Ulmas had to acquiesce. His father promptly drew out a document, acknowledging Akbar as the temporal as well as spiritual head of the Moslems in India. He obtained the signatures of Shaikh-ul-Sadar and Mukhdum-ul-Mulk and signed it himself. adding that it was a matter which he had been anxiously looking forward to for several years. The decree was indeed a funeral oration on the Ulmas, and from that day the ecclesiastical structure began to crumble away, and in a very short time Abul Fazel's most zealous and formidable adversaries, Mukhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikhul-Sadar, were directed to make a pilgrimage to holy Mecca.

Though the ecclesiastical organisation was shaken, Akbar and Abul Fazel were not content to have sapped a dogma. wished to keep the religious emotions alive in association with a tolerant, pure, lofty and living set of articles of faith. The priests of the Parsis, the Padres of Portugal, the learned Pundits of Hindustan were all invited to discuss their religions, and the result was that these discussions revealed the rock from which all religions are hewn. The one essential and true worship was found to be the worship of the heart and the inner sentiment of mystic adoration of an indefinable Supreme Being, who has been, is, and will be, in all eternity. No sooner had Abul Fazel proclaimed the Divine religion than thousands joined it. This is only an external history of the Din Ilahi or the Divine faith. Its essence is far more difficult to describe. It had both esoteric and exoteric doctrines. four stages of initiation, and the person who wished to join it had to sign a pledge doctary sign a pledge declaring his willingness to renounce riches, love of honour declaring his willingness to renounce riches, love of honour declaring his willingness to renounce riches, love of honour declaring his willingness to renounce riches, love of honour declaring his willingness to renounce riches, love of honour declaring his willingness to renounce riches, love of honour declaring his willingness to renounce riches, love of honour declaring his willingness to renounce riches, love of honour declaring his willingness to renounce riches, love of honour declaring his willingness to renounce riches, love of honour declaring his willingness to renounce riches, love of honour declaring his willingness to renounce riches, love of honour declaring his willingness to renounce riches, love of honour declaring his willingness to renounce riches, love of honour declaring his willingness to renounce riches, love of honour declaring his willingness to renounce riches, love of honour declaring his willingness to renounce riches, love of honour declaring his willingness to renounce riches, love of honour declaring his will have been declar love of honour, love of any particular faith. As to Abul Fazel's own faith, he sought to the sought of the sought faith, he sought truth all his life long and invoked to his aid all the thinking spirits that i thinking spirits that humanity had produced. He was often heard to ask good and river and river and river ask good ask good and river ask good ask good ask good and river ask good and to ask good and pious people to pray for the firmness of his

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faith. The words which were engraved on the front of the Temple which Akbar built for the use of Hindus and Mohamedans in Kashmere reveal his inner aspirations:

O God, wherever I happen to look I find Thy seekers, and whatever language I hear spoken, speaks of Thee. Apostacy and faith feel after Thee. Each religion says Thou Art One without a Second. If, it be in a mosque, people murmur the holy prayers; if it be in a temple people ring the bell from love to Thee. Sometimes I frequent the temple, sometimes the mosque. But it is Thou whom I seek from door to door. Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy, for neither of them know the light behind the veil. Heresy to the heretic and faith to the faithful, but the dust of the rose petal belongs to the heart of the perfume-seller.

Badouni writes that Abul Fazel "was now virtually Prime Minister. Akbar thought that his brain would fight better and be of greater use than his hand and his pen, more irresistible than his sword, and so entrusted him with his foreign as well as official соптемpondence. Such was the confidence with which he had inspired the Emperor that even the physicians had to take him into consultation before they prescribed for His Majesty." Abul Fazel endeavoured all his life long to deserve the confidence which Akbar had in him. In spite of the long journeys that he had to make with His Majesty, and his multifarious duties, he wrote the life of Akbar, took immense pains to collect all the facts, compile the lastitutes of Akbar and keep the copies of the letters he wrote. On the death of his brother Faizi, he gathered together those priceless Pearls which had fallen from his lips and arranged them in the form of a book. He was the "King of Letters" as Badouni calls him, and the regulations that he issued are monuments of his industry and wide grasp of facts. He had a peculiar way of presenting his ideas on all subjects in the double light of practical and spiritual reason. The diversity of his style is extremely charming, and as he proceeds his arguments gain strength and power, flowing like an animated stream of purest mountain current. Poetry drops from his lips like pearls at appropriate places, to adorn his picture. The first book of Mukatbal Ilami contains all the letters which he wrote to foreign potentates Potentates, and edicts and orders which he issued for the guidance of the importance the imperial officials, and shows such a grasp of situation and vigour

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of expression that Abdulla, the King of Persia, once on receipt of a letter from Abul Fazel, exclaimed, "I have not seen the sword of Akbar, but Abul Fazel's pen strikes fear in one's mind." The second part contains the letters which he wrote to his friends and reveals the inner being of the philosopher. He is the very genius of correctness, elegance and grace, and the letters show off his high moral tone and the goodness of his heart. The third volume contains his thoughts about books and things, and is extremely interesting and bears witness to his lofty philosophical ideals. Though the thoughts are not arranged with any coherence, they sparkle like purest diamonds even in this unfinished state. It is said that the book had a fourth volume which contained the synthesis of his philosophy and the tenets of the Din Ilahi, but unfortunately the volume has not been found. It seems to have been destroyed by the successors of Akbar during the revival of the rule of the Ulmas.

His history of Akbar's time and the Institutes of Akbar are complete in every detail. The first book gives a short genealogical sketch of the Timur family and short lives of Baber and Humayun, ending with the first seventeen years of Akbar's reign. The style of the first volume is grave and restrained, and the treatment marked with vigour and grasp of detail. The second volume gains further in power of portrayal and incisiveness of expression without losing in simplicity or precision. The third volume of the Akbar Nameh and the Institutes of Akbar is remarkable for the terseness of its style and the nimbleness of its thought-movement. It is wrong to call Abul Fazel's style prolix. He seldom failed to hit the exact expression, either in prose or in verse. If his style seems elaborate to us, it must be remembered that he had to follow the old masters and he could not venture to improve upon the style of the Persians whose language he was using. Even his Persian contemporaries had to acknowledge his pre-eminent mastery over the art of expression and his superb combination of words, as they did his sincerity and native inclination towards candour and justice. It is wrong to call his style affected and to affected and to condemn him as a flatterer who strove to cover the defects of his master under abstruse expressions. He writes in high terms of Alchar and his master under abstruse expressions. terms of Akbar and his work, because Akbar deserved it. Moreover, it was his any it it was his own ideas that took shape in the mind of Akbar, and fructified. Akbar fructified. Akbar came very near to his ideal of an emperor.

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insisted on pointing out the God in Akbar so that his sovereign might insisted on possible ordinary human stature and, by believing in his own dignity, he might at last approach it. Akbar cherished him as friend and brother all his life long. Only once was the friendsip darkened by a shadow. Shaikh Mubarak in his early life had witten a commentary on the Quran. After his death, Abul Fazel opied it and sent it to the King of Persia and other rulers. Naturally Akbar could not see how a man who questioned the authority of the Quran could think of sending a copy of its commentary to Mohamedan Kings, and in truth it is difficult to find an explanation. Perhaps it was in loving memory of his father that Abul Fazel copied it and sent it to the Mohamedan Kings who could appreciate the work. The Emperor was offended, and Abul Fazel retired into seclusion, as if he was in mourning. But large-hearted Akbar did not allow his friend to remain long in sullenness and despondence. He sent for him and received him with his usual warmth. Abul Fazel expressed repentance for his mistake and busied himself with his work. In 1,006 Hijeri the serious nature of affairs in the Deccan obliged the Emperor for a time to part with Abul Fazel. Perhaps His Majesty wished to test or justify the many-sided capacity of his friend, for often when Abul Fazel drew the attention of the officers to the defects in their organisation and command, they would turn round and reply that it was easy to talk theoretically on strategical points, but acting was another matter: that he was a historian, lawmaker, reformer and philosopher they all acknowledged, but it was 10 use his talking of war. He justified Akbar's confidence when that work came to his hands, and proved that his ability, strength of character and resourcefulness could be used in any direction. Affairs in the Deccan were in a rather bad way. Prince Murad, who Was sent in command of the expedition, gave himself up to drinking. The Mughal generals, actuated by petty jealousies, remained inactive; the expedition required prompt and effective measures, but Akbar himself could not turn to the Deccan, as the death of Abdulla, King of Persiant of Persia, had made the way clear for him to regain the land of his forefather. le sent for him to regain the low. He sent for him to regain the low. He sent for his two sons Salim and Danayal, but Danayal made an excuse etcuse, and as for Salim, the inebriate, he was not in a fit state to take up such a difficult command. It was then that he turned 452

to Abul Fazel and desired him to go in Salim's place, hoping that his presence would unite the generals and establish a single command He was to come back with the Prince if the Amirs of Berar under. took the management of affairs, otherwise to stop and co-operate with Mirza Shah Rukh in the conquest of the Deccan. The appointment gave offence to many a Mughal general. Abul Fazel knew the menhe had to deal with. Raising a small force of his own, besides the imperial escort, he marched to the Deccan, and was some thirty miles from Murad's camp when information reached him of the serious illness of the Prince. He wanted to go at once, but his friends feared a plot against him and counselled him to be circumspect, He paid no heed to their counsel, and rode at once to the royal camp. The sight he met with was extremely painful; the disease had passed beyond control, and the Prince expired soon after his arrival, The camp became a scene of confusion and disorder; some wild spirits started a loot, and the Mughal Army became a disorderly rabble, who refused to obey Abul Fazel and did as they pleased. But Abul Fazel remained firm; he quietly sent the family of the Prince to Shah Pur, committed the body of the Prince to mother earth, and unfurled the Mughal flag for the conquest of the Deccan. Confidence was to a certain extent restored, and the deserters began to join him again, but Mirza Shah Rukh refused to co-operate with him Abul Fazel wrote for money and reinforcements to the Emperor, but his enemies did not read out his letters to His Majesty, nor did they mention the death of Prince Murad to him, wishing to humble the Shaikh in the eyes of the world. But the Shaikh was equal to all emergencies; he evinced no fear, but rapidly marched on Tulan, which he reduced forthwith, and drove the enemy from their strong position at Bair, displaying such energy and rapidity of movement that his enemies at the court of Akbar were struck with amazement at his gallantry, and quickly read out his dispatches to His Majesty, who at once ordered Mirza Rukh Shah and Prince Danayal to cooperate with Abul Fazel. In the meanwhile the latter had reached Ahmedrager Ahmednagar, which was held by Chand Bibi who had declared Bahadar, the grand had by Chand Bibi who had declared Bahadar, the grand had been said to be said fazel Bahadar, the grandson of Brihan-ul-Mulk, as the King. Abul Fazel defeated her govern defeated her general and was about to take the fort when himself Danayal sent him instructions to cease operations as he himself desired to take the desired to take the city. Along with this he received instructions

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from Akbar himself, desiring him to join the court and on his way back to stop at Asir and try to persuade Bahadar to submission.

Abul Fazel instantly obeyed, and on his way back interviewed Bahadar, who received him with great honour, sent his own son with presents to the court, but refused to come down himself from Asir.

Abul Fazel hastened to meet Akbar at Kharigaon, where the new year being celebrated. It was a moonlit night; the camp was pitched in a lovely spot, overspread with a carpet of emerald green; the cry of the cuckoo and the occasional twitter of a startled bird lent music to the fairy scene; and Akbar, who drank in the beauty of it, was in a mood of exalted generosity. Abul Fazel laid his forehead on His Majesty's feet. Akbar greeted him with the couplet—

Blissful the time and pleasant the moonlit night,
Many are the themes that need thy glittering light,
and signified his appreciation of his services by raising him to
the rank of four thousand and appointing him Governor of Khandesh.

As Bahadar did not attend to the wise counsel of Abul Fazel, it was thought advisable to remove this stumbling block of the Deccan. Asirgarh commands one of the main roads to the Deccan; it is built and cut into the very heart of a spur of the Satpura range, well situated as to leave only two places of ascent, the one on the north guarded by a rampart, and that on the south defended by a strong outwork and a sally front hewn through the living rock, which could be easily blocked from above. Asirgarh was founded by Asa Ahir, who had made it impregnable, yet extremely comfortble. It had not only passages and casements, but open spaces, ardens and fountains. Abul Fazel was appointed to reduce this impregnable stronghold of Bahadar; the result was a long siege. secret path to the outer rampart was discovered by Abul Fazel, which it could be taken, but it was thought dangerous and impracticable. Abul Fazel resolved to attempt the hazardous task, selected a detachment to follow him, having ordered the officer to the to be the trench to wait for the sounding of a trumpet and then to hasten with the ladders. He himself went out in the dark and rainy night along the narrow path which had been pointed out bhim, and broke the gate open, repulsing the attack of the besiegers out of Mahagarh, with great coolness and bravery, and driving them out of Mahagarh, the rame of the fall of the the rampart was called. As a consequence of the fall of the 454

Malai, Bahadar acknowledged himself beaten. This siege cast into the shade the renowned capture of Chitore. Abul Fazel presented the keys of Asirgarh to His Majesty, who inspected it himself, and then the royal standard turned homeward; but Abul Fazel was left behind to see the completion of his conquests and the establishment of peace and order.

Akbar returned triumphant to Agra, to find his own son Salim in rebellion, who had taken up his quarters in the charming city of Ajmere, giving himself up to luxury and dissipation. Akbai's loving heart forbade him to proceed to extremities, and he wanted to conciliate the Prince. He thought of Abul Fazel as the only person who could carry out his wishes successfully, and sent for him immediately. Abul Fazel at once obeyed and in the haste to rejoin his friend and sovereign he took with him only a small escort, Salim heard of his departure for Agra. It is needless to point out that Salim and Abul Fazel were strongly inimical to each other. Salim's craving for supremacy was in striking contrast to the noble self-denial of Abul Fazel. Salim's nature and circumstances both inpelled him towards the old Mahomedan orthodoxy. Salim knew the Shaikh's influence with the Emperor, and feared lest he might persuade Akbar to declare his own son Khusru as successor to the throne. He therefore resolved to remove the Shaikh from his path for good, and instructed Bir Singh, a robber chief, to waylay and kill Abul Fazel, promising to raise him to a high dignity when he ascended the throne. The Shaikh, as he was hastening along to Agra, received information about the presence of the robber chief in the neighbourhood, but he took no precautions, and on the morning of the 1st Rabi-ul-avil, 1011, as he was riding with a small party of friends, enjoying the cool fresh breeze of the early morning, his eyes feasting on the wild verdure of the jungle, a body of horsemen suddenly appear and the ground in the denly appeared in front; his friends advised him to make good his escape promision of the jungle, a body of noisonate denly appeared in front; his friends advised him to make good his escape promision. escape, promising to engage the robbers in the meanwhile, but the The robbers came gallant soul of the Shaikh refused to turn back. like the whirlwind; the Shaikh and his friends fought bravely, but were overcome. were overcome. A Rajput struck him with a spear in the back, which came out the which came out through his breast, and the Shaikh fell from his horse. Bir Singh made country that the shaikh fell from his horse. Bir Singh made a mock salute to the Shaikh and said with a courteous smile: "The Allers Allers and the Shaikh and said with a courteous smile smile smile shaikh and said with a courteous smile smile smile shaikh and said with a courteous smile smile smile shaikh and said with a courteous smile smile: "The All-conquering Lord has sent for you." Abul Fatel

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his horse. courteous bul Fazel gened his eyes, but made no reply. An attendant then cut off bead, and the murderers galloped away. He who often stood the throne, as the pillar of the mighty state which he had helped build up, lay there like a shattered column, friendless and deserted. When the news of his death reached the capital, no one had be courage to break it to His Majesty. According to an old ation observed by the descendents of Timur, the death of a prince 183 not mentioned in plain words to the reigning emperor, but the likil of the prince presented himself before the throne with a black indkerchief round his wrist, the meaning of which was well understood. Akbar was struck dumb and bewailed the death of his friend more than that of a son. For several days he would see nobody, ad after enquiring into the circumstances, he exclaimed: "If Salim ished to be emperor he might have killed me and spared Abul hael." Akbar was now growing old, and was not able to avenge be death of his best beloved and most faithful friend.

Abul Fazel met with his death in his fifty-second year, still in full wour of body and mind. He was a loss not to Akbar alone, but to the rhole empire in which he had contributed to restore peace and freeom of thought. His home life was extremely harmonious; nothing ould be simpler and more free from disturbing elements. His amibility made him the delight of his family. Though reserved in manners and fond of industrious seclusion, he made himself most darming whenever he wished. His filial affection was boundless ad touching. At Lahore, when he was informed of the death of his aother, he bewailed the loss and often exclaimed, "The blood, which y love turned into milk and which nourished me in childhood, has med into blood again and now trickles down my cheeks." He never smissed a servant or spoke harshly to anybody, and invariably left be of the line of spoke harshly to anybody, and inward to anybody, and inward to spoke harshly to anybody, and inward to words. He pe of turning the wicked into the right course by gentle words. He about the middle height, lightly built and of a dark colour; movements were slow, his face was invariably thoughtful, and the heart fair. telept fairly good health. He was ungrudging in his hospitality; worked rice and pulse were distributed all day long at his gate. then in the Deccan more than 1,000 gentlemen sat with him to the Deccan more than 1,000 gentlemen sat white the was fond of good fare and pleasant dishes, and his dinners the was fond of good fare and pleasant disnes, and the one laborate. He had three wives: the first was the one

whom he married in his father's time; the second was a Kashner girl, married, perhaps, for her great beauty; the third was a Person girl, married, perhaps, as Maulvi Azad remarks, to help him in the colloquial knowledge of Persian. It may seem strange to us that man of Abul Fazel's temperament should have married three wives; it was not so considered in his time, and men are in advance of their times only within certain limits.

At a short distance from Gwalior, in a small village called Allti, there still stands the poorly built tomb of Abul Fazel. He but brought the bodies of his father and mother to Agra, but his on remains where it fell; yet round the tomb floats the fragrance of his fame, and it is lighted every Friday by the villagers who bring to it abject h teen an their offerings and cover it with flowers. adowed

The wheeling fireflies fondly haunt the jungle, Those tiny glitterers of the gloomy night; Their little lights on Majun's tomb commingle, And broaden into fond love's mellow light; Tho' Quran he holds in one hand, and the other Is making an offering to the Fulgent Form. The faithful and the heretic together Bow down; obey Love's sovereign charm.

JOGENDRA SINGH.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE WILL.

el. He had NE of the most practical questions relating to the life of men ut his own is: What is voluntary action? For thousands of years this rance of his spiect has been discussed and debated, and the strife over it is still and lively. According to one theory we are said to be adowed with absolute free-will, so that at the instant of choice refind ourselves entirely unbiassed. The other belief is, that necesty determines our acts, because certain influences, hereditary or idvidual, exerted during the past, prove of inevitable force. Some wikers appear to accept either view in a somewhat modified form. Manwhile, ordinary minds keep aloof from the whole contention, atisfied to be guided by the dictates of common-sense. I desire attention very briefly to the theory put forward by Professor I. James in his "Text-book of Psychology"—a theory which me to throw a strikingly clear light upon Willing and deting. He and some others have transferred the question from Metaphysics to Psychology, and this gives good promise of its Julion. I shall first refer to the investigations of Professor James, then try to show that experience and language tend to support

It is an acknowledged fact that our sensations and emotions Muce reflex action. The feeling which has been excited by an themal or an internal cause acts at once upon the motor nerves, the result that muscular movement involuntarily follows. he see a tree swaying or a man running, an impulse seizes us to we in harmony with the action. An emotion also, say that of an armony with the action. An emotion arct, and a general shrinkback. Every such feeling leaves its impress on the mind, and we recall by memory the idea of the sensation or of we recall by memory the idea of the sensation, there ensues an instinctive reproduction of either.

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Now the new point explained by Professor James is, that the ray to process is not restricted to what is involuntary, but that it extends Then e even to voluntary acts. When, therefore, we think of something to know the known of something to know the known of something the known of Experie that we desire to accomplish, we have only to keep our attentor steadily fixed upon that thought—upon that idea—and action a once takes place. No further effort is necessary. We need notere so it d consider the steps to be taken, if by habit those steps have become easy to us. In cases where no habit has been formed, each separate step must be aimed at, but still in relation to the final aim. Profession James says: "What holds attention determines action. The point to which the Will is directly applied is always an idea," We influence may hence infer that we cannot move in a voluntary manner, unless the idea of the act is first in our mind. differen someth

This explanation appears to be fully supported by experience When a man shoots an arrow at a target, how will he best manage to reach the mark? Not by thinking of his bow, but by simply keeping in view his aim. A rope dancer can only succeed whenk is entirely occupied with the accomplishment of his adventures walk. Let him attend to his feet or to the crowd below, his mind is turned away from the one idea, and straightway he falls to the ground. So also a merchant carries out his profitable schemes is by fixing his thoughts continually upon the results for which help decided to work, and which he expects to achieve. It is the same with the lawyer, the orator, the thief, or any other human being. To give all the illustrations possible of this fact would involve rehearing the whole voluntary action of the world's inhabitants. But beside experience, our ordinary conversation similarly endorses the state ment of Professor James. We use the expressions, "Pay attertion," "Bear in mind," "Let nothing distract you from portion object" object "—that is, "from your idea." And what is implied by the familiar word. familiar words, "Remember" and "Recollect"? That we have los an idea, and must strive to recover it, to fetch it up, to construct anew in order the strive to recover it, to fetch it up, to construct anew in order the strive to recover it, to fetch it up, to construct anew in order the strive to recover it, to fetch it up, to construct anew in order the strive to recover it, to fetch it up, to construct anew in order the strive to recover it, to fetch it up, to construct anew in order the strive to recover it, to fetch it up, to construct anew in order the strive to recover it, to fetch it up, to construct anew in order the strive to recover it, to fetch it up, to construct anew in order the strive to recover it, to fetch it up, to construct anew in order the strive to recover it, to fetch it up, to construct anew in order the strive to recover it, to fetch it up, to construct and the stripe to the stripe anew, in order that it may be carried out. Of course, all languages symbolic, describing mental action only by means of the outward.

But the exaction of the outward of the outward of the outward of the outward. But the exactitude of words, as originally framed, before constant use has dimmed the use has dimmed their meaning, is very wonderful. They fit of feelings as a glove fit of feelings as a glove fits the hand. The above expressions, and the bers of others, clearly bers of others, clearly show that the way to achieve an aim, the

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Then ensues the act, as "the unhesitating and resistless sequence."

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wit doubtless is to a great extent. The theory enunciated by Molessor James does not exclude wishes; indeed, he recognises these 13 most frequent—or the most frequent—motor power. But it is brough the idea that the wish becomes will—not independently of it. There are cases, too, when we act in opposition to our wishes. For instance, a man in an excited crowd may be so carried away by the influence of those around him that he does something utterly different from what he in cooler moments would prefer to dosmething that he may come to look on with horror the next day. Again, why does a person with weak will yield to one whose will is tronger? Because the idea that has hold of the stronger nature presents itself forcibly to his mind, and thus controls his acts. Habit also often takes the place of wishes and desires. One suddenly sys, "Oh! I did not mean to do that!" In such a case, habit or outom has been more powerful than the settled and usual intention. Unforeseen temptations, too, come under this head, catching us in inguarded moments. Thus we are not always ruled by the strongest wish, though, as Professor James allows, this often happens. When it does happen, the power of the wish lies in pressing upon us the idea—the thought—the aim, which then necessarily lads to action, without effort on our part.

But now arises the important question, "Are we, then, the sport of floating and accidental ideas? Are we mere automata in this world of striving forces, tossed hither and thither as one idea transition that takes possession of us?" The answer is, "Certainly not." If we look without theorising at our mental nature, we discover that the point have control over the ideas that come and go within us. But at point have we this power? Not at the final moment—not that last stage we cannot help submitting to it. It will and must become a motor force. But what we can do is to effect the control-long that which we desire not to do. In daily life we continually

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exert this power, and in the same manner we can exert it for more purposes—in order to realise our moral ideal. The right intention can be kept in view instead of the wrong one—the idea of Good rather than that of Evil. Sudden exposure to temptation can be foreseen and provided against. Helpful influences can be sought, by means of which we are insensibly drawn into the line of duty. We can, moreover, secure the aid of habit, which will accustom us to deliberate before acting, so that permanent wishes may have time to assert themselves. No doubt our faculties have certain limits. No man can climb Kanchengunga in ten seconds. Yet there seems to be in every life an unexplored region of possible capacity. And we are not mere links in the chain of cause and effect, but in a large measure rulers of circumstance and destiny.

The theory of Professor James bears upon the question of responsibility, leaving us answerable for our actions. That we are thus responsible is borne out by experience as well as by language If a servant, sent with a warning against burglars to your friend, ism much attracted by a game of cricket that he forgets to deliver the letter, why is he to be blamed? Just because he had the power of keeping in mind his commission, and having such power he ought to have exercised it. It would be no available excuse if he said, "The idea of watching the cricket match entered my head, and could not help yielding to it." Such a servant might fairly be dis missed, for he should have taken pains to remember his duty. We are not considered responsible if we are hindered by force from doing right, but this is negative evidence that we can and ought to do it when not coerced. Commonsense tells that every one is answerable for his actions. We say "Take care not to forget," "Be on your guard," "It was (or was not) my fault," "Be sure you make no mistake," "I depend on your carrying out the scheme." These phrases would be meaningless, nay, nonsensical, if we could not believe in responsibility. sibility. Even the admonitions of conscience would in that case be merely fortice. It is true that there are degress of responsibility A child which has always lived in depressing surroundings must not be judged harebly in all lived in depressing surroundings must not be judged. judged harshly in adult life, because his higher nature has hed no opportunity. be gradually trained to the recognition of being personally answerable for his doings.

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In conclusion, I will quote a few more statements by Professor lames which throw light on his theory.

Exercise of Will means "consent to the idea's undivided pre-

Effort of attention is the essential phenomenon of Will."

"When we deliberate, the mind has many objects before it, and when one prevails, we say

"The flat means simply the neutralisation of the antagonistic

"The Willing terminates with the prevalence of the idea."

Although we have known these facts practically before, it is also important to realise intellectually our methods of considering and of deciding. We can then arrange our course of life more definitely, whether in regard to ordinary concerns or to ethical relations. And the theory put forward by Professor James touches all departments of feeling and action—religious, moral, imaginative, political and social. It affords a standpoint from which distortions of view melt into lines of true proportion. It helps us to advance with a firm step, through having made graphic acquaintance with our aculties. It intimates how the untrained, including children, are to be prepared for self-guidance. And it tends to break up the opposing camps of Free-will and Necessity, by abstracting what is alse and endorsing what is true in the contentions of either party of thinkers.

E. A. MANNING.

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CO-OPERATION IN INDIA.

THE Agricultural Banks Bill has passed into law under the style and title of the Co-operative Credit Societies Act. The Act, like the Bill, remains short, simple and unpretentious, a mere matter of some thirty sections, modest measure for the pioneer of an economic movement that is not unlikely, before all is done, to affect profoundly the material and moral welfare of three hundred millions of our fellow subjects. "I believe," said Sir Denzil Ibbetson in introducing the Bill, "that it would be hard to exaggerate either the importance or the difficulty of the experiment upon which we are about to embark."

What is this experiment? How are petty village banks, whose success is doubtful and whose influence in any case is limited, to affect the fortunes of an Empire? The significance of the experiment is this. It is the first attempt to naturalise in India the principle of co-operation that has permeated Europe during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

When it is remembered that India is mainly agricultural, that the agriculturists are largely peasant proprietors, and that the peasant proprietors are heavily and increasingly in debt, it is at once apparent why credit, more particularly agricultural credit, should be selected for the first serious experiment in co-operation. Co-operation has ever found an opportunity in crisis, and the financial condition of the ryot, if not critical, has at least become a cause of serious uneasiness.

The immediate object of the experiment is confined to "improving the credit of the masses," agricultural credit in the first place, industrial in the second; but in the nature of things these limits must be exceeded. If the first attempt in the field of credit does not produce rapid results, co-operation will attack the problem from other directions: if, as there is reason to hope, it meets with such

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co-operative methods in credit are certain, as in Europe, to be to co-operative supply, production and sale, till ultimately they pervade the whole economic fabric—a result not only desirable, bey pervade the survive in the Ryotwari system is to survive in In the words of Sir Horace Plunkett, "While under existing knomic conditions of the world's markets a peasant proprietor is possible, a peasant proprietary is not only possible but desirable. Cooperation solves this paradox."* Is there any solution but co-oper-If there is not, and if the paradox holds good, the alternatres before the ryot are co-operation or elimination; and however one may seek to qualify the dilemma, it is difficult to escape the concluson that the ryot, if he rejects co-operation, does so at his peril. There is, therefore, no little interest and importance attaching to the speriment for which this modest Act prepares the way.

It may not be amiss to glance at some of the conditions that har upon the prospects of success or failure. The difficulties are aomous. Is it possible to graft on to non-competitive Indian life be Western principle of co-operation, the efficient and final causes which are found in competition? On the other hand, the idea of 10-operation is by no means foreign to Indian thought and instituions. It was in existence as far back as Buddha, and found expression athe Dhamma (whole duty of man) of Asoka. "People say liberty is good. But no gift, no aid, is so good as giving to others the of the Dhamma."† Here is the idea of self-help pure and adiluted, helping others to help themselves, helping without aterial giving, the very spirit and essence of the co-operative socie-Raiffeisen upon which it is proposed to model Indian rural

And the idea had penetrated into the institutions of the people. Villagers are described as uniting, of their own accord, to build lote-halls and Resthouses and reservoirs, to mend the roads be-Again (Mesthouses and reservoirs, to mond the parks."‡ Again, "There is mention in other documents of the same age, Builds of work-people." It is through their guilds that the King

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Address by the Rt. Hon. Horace Plunkett as President of the National Co-operative Address by the Rt. Hon. Horace Plunkett as Free Rock Edict No. II. Rhys David's "Buddhist India," p. 294-18, p. 294-19, p. 90.

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summons the people on important occasions."* There is evidence in India, from the earliest times, of a strong tendency to associate for mutual advantage, and if it is possible to divert into economic channels the forces which worked along social lines to the perfection of the Joint Family and the Caste System, it would be rash to set a limit to the possibilities of development.

If considerations such as these justify the view that co-operation as a broad working principle may not find the soil of India uncongenial to its growth, the next step is to enquire what are the chances of its successful application in the particular field selected for the first experiment, viz., credit, and, primarily, agricultural credit, Even if the future of co-operation be regarded as assured in other directions, it would not seem a safe inference that it must succeed in the sphere of credit. European experience reveals instances-Denmark, Norway, Sweden, England, Scotland-in which no efforts have availed to popularise co-operation in rural credit, though co-operation in other forms has been firmly established. The reason is matter for speculation. Perhaps it may be found in a common characteristicol the Northern nations, self-reliance combined with a degree of shyness that is no bar to co-operation as such, but can tolerate no form, such as the Raiffeisen credit society, that necessitates an inquisitorial inspection of the private affairs of the individual by his neighbours Celtic Ireland does not seem to feel the difficulty. If this curious series of failures can be attributed to a peculiar Northern characteristic, it is at least satisfactory to note that it holds no warning for

Among conditions that make for the success of the experiment must be reckoned the wonderful power of adaptation displayed in the history of the development of co-operative credit, the unsatisfactory nature of existing credit relations, and the broad economic basis on which it is sought to rest the movement.

Co-operative credit, springing up in Germany, has spread from the Teuton to the Latin and the Slav, till it has established its position over the greater part of Europe as one of the leading and most progressive economic forces of the day. It has invaded America, effected a lodgment in Africa, has been introduced into Japan, and

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^{*} Rhys David's "Buddhist India," p. 96.

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its posiand most America, pan, and, General Tcheng-ki-Tong is to be believed, it has been practised for mindefinite period in China.* With unrivalled powers of adaptation and expansion, it would seem strange that the principle of properative credit should find any insuperable barrier in an Indian prironment. Such indications as exist at present are not unfavourable, but they rest on too narrow a basis to warrant generalisation. In Madras, the 'Nidhis,' developments of indigenous money-clubs at the lines of Building Societies, augur well for the future of industrial credit co-operation: in Northern India, a few recent apperiments on more orthodox co-operative lines have met with an accouraging measure of success in agricultural communities.

The way at least lies open, for existing credit organisation there none. The only bank is the individual money-lender. The morant ryot, living habitually a year in advance of his income and borowing for current needs against next year's crop, pays exorbiant interest and is freely swindled into the bargain. He is seldom dravagant, but generally improvident, and utterly incapable of estinguishing between productive and unproductive borrowing. The muble is not absence of credit, but misuse of credit, and ruinous ales paid for it. To provide the ryot with more credit, even at heaper rates, would probably make matters worse, unless he can ist be taught to use it to advantage. What is wanted is not merely theap credit, but cheap credit in leading strings. Existing conditions dIndian agricultural life require a mechanism which shall not only Novide credit, but control its use in the ryot's own interest. In turope conditions not dissimilar led to the adoption of a thousand tpedients in different countries at different times, ending for the part in failure more or less complete. Half a century of effort athe part of states, societies and individuals has resulted in estathing the Loan Banks of Raiffeisen as the one institution pre-Banks of Kaiffelsen as the one line These Banks" not only succeed, as no central institution has ever only succeed, as no central institution, in getting into touch with the small cultivator, in but they teach inging credit to his door, and bringing it cheap, but they teach the right use of credit, and, more than that, they see that he The Bank lends only to its own members, and

^{*} Wolf, "Peoples' Banks," p. 193.

the member who applies for a loan must declare its object; before he can get the loan, the society must approve the object; and after the loan is granted, its application is watched with jealous care by his fellow members who are jointly and severally liable for the debts of the Bank. The fundamental characteristic of the Raiffeisen Bank, by which it is differentiated from other institutions of cooperative credit, is that it takes nothing for granted. The Banks of Schultze Delitsch and of Luzzatti, which have met with such imposing success in Germany, Austria, Italy and elsewhere among urban populations, and even among the larger and better educated agriculturists, all pre-suppose that their clients understand the use of credit. The function of these Banks ends with the provision of an adequate supply of credit on reasonable terms. Their work finishes where that of the Raiffeisen Banks is only beginning. Credit is not an end in itself, but the means to an end, and the Town Bank's concerned with the means only: the Rural Bank must look to the end as well as the means, if its efforts are not to be thrown away, It must be a credit society and a great deal more. Hence it is concerned rather with the productive nature of the loan, and the character of the applicant, than with the nature of the security; and it provides that the grant of the loan shall be followed up with the most careful supervision, for which unlimited liability supplies the motive, and a limited area of operation provides the opportunity.

With one important concession to Indian conditions the Act closely follows Raiffeisen lines in its provisions for the constitution of rural banks. It is silent as to the object of the loan. On this

point Sir Denzil Ibbetson observed:-

"It has been strongly urged that no loans should be permitted except for productive expenditure, and especially that they should not be great the should not be great that they should not be great that not be granted for such purposes as marriages and the like. recognise that there is much to be said both for and against the proposal, but we have finally decided to reject it, mainly on the ground that what ground that whatever restrictions might be imposed by law, it would be impossible to a f be impossible to enforce them, while their mere existence encourage evacions. encourage evasion and deceit. Moreover, we are not without that the fact that a societ that the fact that a society refuses to lend more than Rs. 50 member for a marriage member for a marriage, as being as much as he can hope to repair

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on 10 conditi mpose ! Gaster may not infrequently lead to his limiting his expenditure to Rs. 50 instead of going to the money-lender for Rs. 100."

It cannot be denied that this is a bold departure from orthodox Raiffeisenism. Raiffeisen made it an absolute rule that loans should be for productive purposes only; so too did Wollemborg in the Banks; and it is adhered to even in the "Crédit Annexes" of the French Syndicats Agricoles. The rule, as has been shown, is logical outcome of the constitution of the rural as distinguished from the urban bank. Nevertheless, essential as the rule is in a European society, its relaxation is equally essential in India. In Burope heavy expenditure on marriages and other domestic ceremones is not necessary and inevitable; in India it is prescribed by astom and exacted by stringent social usage. One is tempted to add that marriage at least is not unproductive. To the Indian cultivator dildren still mean wealth. It must be remembered also that in the Raiffeisen societies a "productive" loan included such objects as the maintenance of the cultivator waiting on his harvest, and advances bliquidate existing debt. In view of Indian conditions it is conceivable that Raiffeisen himself would not have demurred to a further extension covering such expenditure of the ryot as is accessitated by social obligation. To exclude such objects would unduly narrow the basis of Indian credit societies, and limit their potentiality for checking unnecessary expenditure, since it would compel the ryot to look to the money-lender for large and unwoidable loans at critical periods of his life. Provided that inproductive loans are strictly confined by the rules of the Bank to bjects which its members recognise as absolutely necessary, and within limits which they endorse as appropriate in each case, the anovation need not be regarded as subversive, but rather as a Esponsive variation of type to altered environment.

Detailed description would be out of place in an attempt to lace in broadest outline the tendencies and prospects of an Act that aims at clearing the way for a co-operative movement in India. Simple and elastic in conception, it leaves the widest possible scope of the developments which the endless variety of Indian must call into existence, and at the same time it those outside limits beyond which variation means

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The first efforts of co-operation are to be focussed on credit primarily agricultural credit. Considerations that may have led to the selection of credit relations as the earliest field of operations have already been briefly indicated. They now call for fuller treat. ment. The selection might be objected to on two grounds, first, that in beginning with credit, co-operation is beginning at the WYODE end; secondly, that to make rural credit the main objective is to neglect the natural tendency of co-operative credit to spring up first in industrial centres and to spread outwards from the towns into the rural districts. Both objections can quote history in their support. In Europe co-operation in supply, production or sale as a rule appears earlier than co-operation in credit; and by a natural process associations existing for these purposes may be expected to extend their methods to the provision of the means needed to effect them. But the sequence is not necessary and universal, as has been remarked in the case of Sweden, Denmark Norway and England, where co-operative institutions have not led to any general movement in co-operative credit. On the other hand, it appears to be true that wherever co-operative credit is found co-operation in other forms, if not already existent, is soon in evidence. It is beyond dispute, however, that co-operative associations may, and frequently do stimulate co-operative credit in 2 striking degree. In France, where thirty years of effort in the direction of rural credit had produced no result, credit institutions sprang up in the shape of "annexes" immediately after, and in direct consequence of, the formation of Syndicats Agricoles. Another example of the stimulus may be seen in the progressive Haas Associations and the Baueremvereine of Germany, both of which have made agricultural credit a prominent feature of their operations Luzzatti, the founder of co-operative banking in Italy, considers that Agricultural Associations and Popular Banks are mutually complementary mentary, and should be developed pari passu.* German legislation is framed on this assumption, the same Act (1st May 1889) † embracing credit societies ing credit societies, and associations for sale, production and supply among other name. among other purposes. The Indian Act deals only with credit some ties, but future over the supply is ties, but future expansion in the direction of co-operative supply is

^{*} Nicholson, "Land and Agricultural Banks," vol. i. p. 218. † I bid. vol. ii. p. 81.

on credit, ave led to operations uller treat unds, first, the wrong ctive is to spring up the towns history in

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(a) "Upon the crops . . . when seed or manure was
(b) "Upon any cattle, agricultural or industrial
implements or raw material for manufactures, supplied by the
(society

If credit relations in India are revolutionised by co-operation, the same principle must rapidly penetrate sale, purchase, and production. In directing its whole energies upon credit at the outset, co-operation would appear to follow the Napoleonic maxim of concentrating all available force upon one point, and that the most rulnerable, for credit relations are admittedly the weakest side of the Indian economic position.

If it has been shown that the objection to credit as the earliest field of operation cannot be maintained, the second objection that whan credit should precede rural credit is deprived of half its force. The strength of the objection lies in the fact that historically in Germany, Austria, Italy, in fact nearly all over Europe, credit 00-operation has developed earlier and more rapidly in the towns than in the country. In Germany, the home of Co-operative Banking, the Schultze Delitzsch and Raiffeisen Banks started practically level in the middle of the century. Yet in 1858 there were 30 Schultze Delitzsch Banks and 3 Raiffeisen. In 1888 there were 2,160 Schultze Delitzsch Banks, besides at least an equal number of imitations, against 423 Raiffeisen Banks. In Italy, the "nation Banks," the same phenomenon presents itself. The first Luzzatti Bank opened its doors in 1865: in 1882 there were 206 Banks, and it was not till the following year that the first Wollemberg Bank was founded. Both in Germany and Italy the Town Banks are wenty years ahead of the Country Banks. The explanation has been found in various causes—the state of the law, the nature of the Banks' respective clientèles, the one urban, the other agricultural, the character of their respective transactions, the long-term loans lequired for agriculture necessitating a slower turn-over than the thort-term loans favoured in business; but it is difficult to regard these and other causes as more than subsidiary. The industrial levolution through which Europe was passing during the latter half of the 19th century seems to afford a simple and satisfactory explaof the more rapid progress of co-operative banking in 470

industrial centres. If this is accepted as the leading cause, the argument by analogy from Europe to India breaks down. In the absence of an industrial revolution in India, the main cause of acceleration in urban centres becomes inoperative. Legislation also will favour instead of retarding the initial progress of rural The ignorance and conservatism banks as it did in Europe. of the ryot, and the diffusion of effort consequent upon an area of operation very much more extended, are factors that must always handicap rural credit as compared with urban. Butif the obstacles are greater, the need is greater, and the effort should be greater, and the advantage to be gained is incomparably greater. If the co-operative movement, which the Act brings to birth, is to become a vital force and to exercise a decisive influence upon the welfare of the country, it must establish itself upon the broadest possible base and operate along the lines of economic advantage. Manufactures are of quite secondary importance; the wealth of India lies in the produce of its fields, and the value of the co-operative principle will be measured by the force of its grip upon the land-holder and the cultivator. Hence the force of the present movement is concentrated upon agriculture, and upon that side of agriculture which is weakest—the side of credit and finance. Credit represents the line of least resistance, and agriculture the line of greatest economic strength. Agricultural credit is the point of convergence. If not the weakest, it is relatively weak as a point of attack, and it affords the most advantageous basis for the development of more extended operations. If co-operation can succeed in occupying the lines of credit-communication, it will thereby secure an advantage calculated to make its march upon the central economic position an assured and triumphal progress. The greatest interest, therefore, will centre upon the opening stages of the campaign, for the conditions are such that initial success will confer a commanding advantage the advantage that should place the result beyond reasonable doubt. The possibility of failure cannot be faced with equanimity, for unless the Indian peacent Indian peasantry can assimilate the principle of co-operation, or evolve some efficient out they can some efficient substitute, of which no trace is yet apparent, they can not hope to hold the not hope to hold their own in the modern market, and must ultimately succumb to the formation succumb to the fate that overtakes every economic anachronism, H. TUPPER.

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IS RELIGIOUS EDUCATION NECESSARY IN INDIA?

IN almost every country and at all times there are some opinions I which are considered to be so fundamental to the existence of the nation or so essential a part of its amour propre, that people generally come to regard persons who hold contrary opinions to be treasonous, if not something worse. A Frenchman, for instance, who would advocate the retention of the status quo in Alsace and Lorraine, and abandon for ever the idea of a revenge, is a being almost unthinkable. A British South African colonist who would apply the theory of the brotherhood of man so as to include within its scope the black natives of the soil, would be regarded as a phenomenon. We may equally expect that a Chinaman who does not at heart bless the aim of the Boxers of driving out the foreign devils will be regarded with contempt by his fellow-countrymen. We similarly have the almost unanimous feeling among our educated classes as to the desirability of raising our political status, be the methods what they may.

There is, however, one important difference between our case and that of the other countries mentioned above—a difference that has the effect of leading to an intellectual stagnation. We are never called upon—nor is there any near probability of our being ever called upon—to put to a practical test our platonic opinions. A Frenchman, even though he be the greatest ultra-nationalist that twice before declaring a war of revenge against Germany. He will remember that his opponents too have some sort of a case to argue. Far different with us. Not being required to formulate our

opinions in a practical shape we come to regard the opinions themselves as everything; and from this habitual mode of thinking we have attained to a very demoralising sort of intellectual bigotry.

Having to harp upon the same topics and the same grievances year in and year out in the political world, which occupies almost the entire horizon of our newspapers, and seeing that there is generally no argument on the other side—at any rate it is not often pressed—our newspapers have come to expect that there is sure to be unanimity on every question. Not only so, but a person who takes a view opposite to that taken by them is regarded as unpatriotic. I believe that there is a great deal to be said in favour of the various provisions of the recent Universities Act, but we hardly see these even discussed impartially. We have come to be men of single ideas. Anybody who takes an opposite view is regarded almost with contempt as unpatriotic.

I regard, following the example of the late Mr. Herbert Spencer, the charge of want of patriotism with equanimity, if patriotism simply means following blindly the popular opinion. There are two sides to every question and everyone should try and see what the other side is. I propose to stand before the readers of this Review as the advocate of the unpopular opinion in this matter of religious education without in any way committing either the governing body of my College or my colleagues. At present the case against religious education is hardly ever stated. The controversy, if there is one at all, is one of method. We see a gifted foreign lady blowing loudly the trumpet of this kind of education and trying a heroic experiment in Benares. We are watching with great interest the issue of this experiment. In the meanwhile it may not be amiss to consider a priori why such an experiment is not likely to succeed.

In the West we see that the modern tendency is towards doing away with religious education altogether. In France and Germany, in the higher educational institutions no religious instructions given, and there do not exist any religious tests in the English Universities. Of course, there is compulsory attendance at chapels for students who belong to the Church of England in the Colleges at Cambridge and Oxford, but even there any such student is excused

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such attendance if he, being a minor, produces a certificate from his parents that he need not attend.

If such is the tendency in the more advanced countries of the West, one may naturally ask the reason of the persistent cry for religious education in our country. Our congresses and conferences are unanimous on this point. The recent Social Conference at Madras emphasised this necessity; last year the Bombay Provincial Conference passed a resolution in its favour and asked the Secretaries to enquire how far private educational institutions are prepared to include it in their curriculum. The reason for this apparently reactionary tendency is not far to seek. First of all, Oriental races are to a certain extent more spiritually inclined than those of the Occident. Almost all the great movements in our history have been due, directly or indirectly, to religious influences. It is. therefore, hastily concluded that a national sentiment will develop itself through these religious influences once more. There is, however, an essential difference between the present state and the former periods of Indian history. The rise of the Marathas and the Sikhs was due to a religio-national movement among homogeneous peoples. What we now want is a movement including in its bounds the Hindu and the Mussalman, the Parsi, the Sikh and the Christian. It is not very complimentary to the intellectual acumen of Indians if we are blinded in this way by false historical analogies. History is a good servant but a bad master. There is not a shadow of doubt that if we are to develop a national sentiment at all religion is not the agency that will effect that object. Religion is to our people what a red rag is to a bull. In fact, for attaining the object in view our leaders should take care to keep it carefully out of sight. Once they set the religious sentiment in motion they will be led on by that very force until they are powerless to stay its pernicious progress.

There is, however, a still more cogent reason why we are so often told of the necessity of religious education, and why there is such a unanimity on this point. In this age, when Western ideas are being grafted on Eastern minds, there is sure to be in some cases a disturbance of mental equilibrium. Those of our people who have of their forefathers. This is a perfectly natural result. If a child on

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growing older refuses to crawl and begins to walk, the remedy is not to tie its legs and thus prevent its walking, but to let it continue to walk. It may tumble down at times, but that is the only way in which it will learn to walk properly. It is not the right thing to confine our young men forcibly to the old way of thinking, but to let their intellects have free play. In so many ways do modern ideas overtake young minds that it is next to impossible to ward of their influence by a few minutes of religious instruction every day, The only effect that is possible is intellectual hypocrisy. We shall only have numerous prototypes of the child for whom the earth went round the sun while at school, and the sun round the earth when at home. We shall have our young men ready to deliver learned lectures on the precession of the equinoxes and calculate the exact times of the eclipses, and then come back to their houses to propitiate the demons who eat up the moon or the sun. Such beliefs are altogether impossible for our young men. But the atmosphere created by religious education is such that these practices come to be regarded as integral constituents of right conduct.

Of course, I expect to be told that this is not what is meant by religious education. True, in theory it is not, but what do we find in practice? Our whole life is so intricately entangled with pseudo-religious practices that it is quite impossible to mark the boundaries. Some months ago a Bengali paper that had the courage of its convictions said that for strictly practising what our religion tells us, various ceremonies will have to be performed which even the advocates of religious education would shrink from performing. And yet we are gravely told that these practices form the foundationstone of morality. We talk about equality while our religion enjoins strict distinctions between the various castes. The advocates of religious education must, to be logical, seek to revive all the old social injustice. No, this is not progress; this is retrogression.

Far from religion being a necessary support of morality, I venture to assert that it is morality that is at present the support of religion. Religion tries to keep its hold upon educated minds by pretending to form as it were an auxiliary police force. However, is it really so? If we count all the crimes committed in the name of religion, we shall no longer be told that religion serves purpose. What is the present state of our ministers of religion?

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It is no exaggeration to say that a large number of them the drones of our society, feeding fat upon the credulity of the industrious but ignorant classes. Voltaire's words are thoroughly appropriate to our society at present:

Nos prêtres ne sont pas ce qu'un vain peuple pense;

Notre crédulité fait toute leur science.*

The power of religion is too exhausted to work out the

salvation of our people.

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ladmit a certain lowering of the moral tone of our young men: but I deny the seriousness of the deterioration. In the first place, as I have remarked above, it is a natural and a passing phenomenon. I go further and say that if from the beginning our morality had not been made dependent on religion, this phenomenon would not have occurred. Further still, who are the old people to accuse young men of want of character, when they themselves can look with equanimity at corruption in positions of responsibility, the barbarous bjustice towards young widows, and the notoriously lax moral conduct of some of their leaders?

I may be asked by what remedies I propose to cure this evil. In the first place the vis natura medicatrix (the healing power of nature) will soon begin to produce an appreciable effect. In the early days of English education drinking was quite common among the educated classes; but now it is comparatively rare. The pendulum that recoiled violently after the first blow has now come back near the position of stable equilibrium. There may be oscillations in future. But the frictional forces of conservatism will att slowly, perhaps, but surely, and we shall ere long come to the position of stable equilibrium in the moral world.

It is not schools that are the places for teaching morality by means of text-books. It is the home. Once put that on a higher byel, produce there an atmosphere free from all hypocrisy self-deception, and you will soon hear no more of the complaints about the young generation. Of course, the schools can the fundamental three young generation. Of course, the fundamental three direct teaching of morality the function of home and home only.

Our priests are not what people foolishly believe them to be. Their science is Our priests are not what people - whing else but the credulity of their dupes."

This question will have to be considered carefully. The popular patent nostrum of religious education will prove of no avail. In fact, in my opinion, the introduction of it is a backward step and will prevent the speedy growth of a feeling of nationality in our country, which it is the object of every true patriot to foster.

R. P. PARANJPYE.

THE DAISY.*

ABOVE the empurpled mountains' western limit-line, The sun, expanded flower of splendours infinite, Was lingering yet, full-orbed, before his going down. O'er a grey crumbling wall, midst tangled ivy's twine, On the turf's utmost edge, infolded clear and white, A pearl-like daisy lifted pure her glory-crown. And so the little flower, above the old wall's height, On the great star, diffusing still undying light Amid the azure vault, fixed lovingly her gaze, And whispering low, spake thus to him, "I too have rays." O soul! thy place is earth, 'mid ruins,—night is nigh; Yet far beyond those hills thy home abides on high.

And so, when on thee looks the eye of Love Divine,

Gaze thou not idly then; 'thy Light is come, arise and shink!

G. U. POPE.

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^{*} Translated from the French of Victor Hugo.

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THE PERSIAN CROMWELL.

PART II.

N the death of the Great Mogol the fire of discord and jealousy broke out more and more amongst the four sons of the late mler. Miri-Ways, as was perhaps natural, supported the claims of the eldest son, Chah Alem, and went to his assistance with 20,000 men. A big battle was fought, in which the arms of this prince and Miri-Ways were victorious, their opponent, in despair at a lost cause, tabbing himself with a dagger, and thus, as our author quaintly puts them thus became the new Great Mogol, and Miri-Ways, seeing him stablished on the throne of his father, journeyed to Candahar, where he was received with great rejoicings.

It was in A. D. 1712 that the Emir, Muhamed Bakir, fell sick of a fever, and died. It was in vain that the most skilful Arabian physicians, who were present at his court, were summoned to assist in; the fever did its desperate work. Poor Guny's grief at the loss ther husband was unbearable, so intensely had she loved her lord. Natice a year had passed away when she likewise died. Miri-Ways courned their loss and honoured them in their funerals with great memnity and pomp.

There is something impressive about that family gathering dound the aged veteran's dying bed. He had sent for the rest of their presence had appointed Miri-Ways to be his successor, laying seelord. He told them that they should acknowledge him as their and revenues, and they all agreed to accept their brother to their Prince.

Miri-Ways had enlarged and strengthened Candahar, but he still found it too narrow a field for his ambitions, and turned his eyes longingly upon Persia. Our Miri-Ways was a man deeply versed in human nature. He read men as others read books, and his insight shewed him that there was no cloak for ambitious designs so ample in its folds as that afforded by religion.

It is doubtless well-known to the reader that there are many sects amongst the followers of the Mahomedan religion, and the chief and most powerful are two: the Sunites, or Additioners, who add the Sunam to the Al-Koran and the Alishirs, or sect of Ali, who accept the Al-Koran as their chief guide, and allow of no addition to it. A mortal hatred reigns between the professors of the two sects, hardly surpassed by that evinced by the Puritans against the Roman Catholics, and vice versa.

Miri-Ways knew that at that time the Kingdom of Persia was in a miserable condition, owing to the bad government of a badly brought up king, who ruled under the title and name of Shah Solyman or Selim the Fourth. As a boy he had been debarred by his tutor from reading the accounts of famous men, or affairs of state or war, and from such knowledge as is becoming and fit for a young Prince, with the design that those interested might be sur, in case he should happen to be king, that he would leave all to his ministers, and not take the reins of government into his own hands, or make innovations. Selim the Fourth was a little man, very fond of pleasure and somewhat craven in spirit, so that he frequently composed differences between Indians, Turks and Arabians, through his Governors, by offering sums of money. He was more afraid of the enmity of the Turks than of that of any other nation.

The weaknesses of this weak ruler were well known to Mirways, who had made a careful study of them. He knew that the Ways, who had made a careful study of them. He knew that the real ruler was the Prime Minister, Achemaal Daulet. Miri-Ways determined to lose no opportunity and to spare no pains to gain over this important agent to his side; so he promised him that on condition he should join the sect of the Sunites he would be promoted to the crown.

This promise he never intended to keep. He knew that if he could once get a footing in Persia he would be able to bring it about

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the Prime Minister should be destroyed by the king himself. It was about this time that rebellions broke out all over Persia; first came the Tartars, under their leader, who robbed and plunlited everywhere; then came a revolution, under a Persian noblenumbered everywhere the town of Sjamachie, which town under ordinary
anditions paid the king a yearly revenue of a million crowns, from
the silk trade carried on there. It is said that on the taking of this

120,000 men were cut to pieces, including two hundred Russian

rechants, who traded there in tin, lead, copper and fur, whose

neerve capital, in ready money, amounted to over a million. The

messes of the rebel-were so great, that he proceeded to take another

m, which he succeeded in capturing. Then came the Iman, or mice of Macao, who rose in insurrection in another place, conquered

me countries and intended to go to Kirman, to plunder there an portant trading town. The time seemed now ripe for Miri-Ways to thrust in his sickle. his he prepared to do by setting out from Candahar with a wellwipped army, and making straight for the Province of Kirman. he marched along he gave it out everywhere that he had come help the reigning king to restore quiet, and quell by force, if teessary, the malcontents. He would, he said, assist to secure the on his throne if he would forsake the abominable heresy of dishir, and profess the true religion of the Sunites. Many believed his statements, and all along the route to Kirman he was med by loyal Persians. The capital of the province was, that time, very famous for the finest Persian stuffs made in that country. Wishing to secure the town peaceably, might be, but at all hazards to secure it, Miri-Ways sent detaild to the Commander, informing him that since he did not The Commander, informing nin that since the town up to The Commander, however, did not appear to be quite so willommander, however, did not appear to be in the give it up. Our hero, therefore, besieged it, and, of course, with All were plundered, Our hero, therefore, besieged it, and, all such Persians as were of the sect of Ali were plundered, the Sunites were spared, and when that town was taken the of the towns surrendered, one after another, and so fast that, in while, he was master of the whole Province.

Between the design that Miri-Ways entertained of falling on the Shah of Persia and its execution, there stood one man, viz., the Prime Minister, Achemaal, whom, it will be remembered, our diplomatist, with the usual Eastern disregard for truth, had promised the throne, This Achemaal, who had played into the hands of Miri-Ways by delaying as much as possible the preparations for opposition, suddenly desired to alter his tactics, apparently believing that it was not likely that Miri-Ways would be at the expense of so much treasure and blood to make him king. This change of front was immediately reported to Miri-Ways by his spies. Now, thought this Prince, he must cry "check" before the traitor had time to make another move. Our author tells us that he made use of the following stratagem:—

He cast his eyes upon a trusty Persian, whom he gave a letter to Achemaal, in the name of the Prince of Macao, and since he was sent only as a messenger, and consequently no great harm was to be feared as likely to come to this person, he ordered him that he should cause himself to be intercepted, as by chance, by a party of the king's intending by that means that the letter might fall into the king's own hands. In this letter he wrote in the name of the said Prince of Macao, "that it was now time jointly to execute their design, wherefore he should secure the king's person and his Princes and himself would, with his other allies, soon be at Isfahan, and order everything for his mounting the royal throne."

The letter, as Miri-Ways had intended, fell into the king's hands; Achemaal was immediately made a prisoner by the king's command, and his eyes were put out, but his life was spared until the king could discover his accomplices. Then was pronounced his doom of execution.

The puller of the strings that led to the downfall of the treacher ous Minister remained unsuspected, for how was it possible to suspect Miri-Ways as being the cause of these disorders. It was in the fitness of things that he should feign to be deeply grieved at the the fitness of the was secretly overjoyed at the opportunity presented to tax the king with tyranny.

The Shah fondly imagined that by the execution of the traiton he had firmly established his tottering throne, but he had not given sufficient weight to the importance of the personality of his late. Prime Minister, who had been a great man in the kingdom and

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brough . the king, ther lay anding b with the ras not out to dr hith of 1 that "tri home wit appointe n the se manifest unious r We, te most Conquerc stroyer Prince bo to durin true belie abelieve ous; an

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pet had been hurried to death without even a form of trial! Inquines were made of the Prince of Macao concerning the letter he was been done to have written, and, of course, he positively denied the ending of any letter at all. The people were now irritated beyond ontrol against the Shah; their irritation became mortal hatred thich the allies of Miri-Ways did all in their power to foment, and acceeded in bringing to boiling pitch.

Now was the moment selected by Miri-Ways to strike the popular monarch, whose people held him in contempt as a ruler, account of his insolence, neglect and luxury, to which they added tranny and some imputed heresy.

Drawing his army together, our Prince decided to march directly n Islahan. His choice lay between two roads; the one led him brough provinces bristling with governors and chiefs, still loyal to be king, whom he would of necessity have to engage; and the ther lay through deserts and unbeaten tracks. He chose the latter, unding before him his Tartars, to prepare the way, himself following ith the rest of his army, and spreading reports en route, that it as not his intention to deprive the king or his family of the crown, to draw him over from heresy and superstition of Ali to the true with of Muhamed. He stated, too, that if the king would embrace hat "true faith" he would confirm him on the throne, and return ome with his troops. By this assertion he intimated that he was *prointed by God to avenge the prophet Muhamed, and to punish the severest manner such Persians as had blasphemed him. His Manifesto, which he caused to be scattered all over Persia, makes utious reading. We give one or two short quotations.

We, Muhamed Miri-Ways, a Shade of God on Earth, Great Emir of the most famous trading town and whole Province of Candahar, a great conqueror and a great Subduer assisted by Heaven, as also a zealous astroyer of all such heretics as are not of the faith of the Sunites; a lince born at a time of a great conjunction of some planets, and begot-the during the influence of the most auspicious stars; a refuge for all me believing Mussalmans, and a victorious trophy for a sanctuary for the lives, whether Christians, Jews or Sabeans, humbling themselves and an opener of the gates to a place or rest, who also is influence a disposer of the lives of millions of men,—We, Muhamed livence where the lives of millions of men,—We, Muhamed and acquaint you hereby, that your present wicked and

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not given not given f his late gdom and heretical Shah has not only formerly persecuted, and by clandestine en deavours aimed at the life of my father (upon whom the Lord have mercy) and likewise committed great enormities against him because of his pure and true Sunitian religion, but also, contrary to all treaties, carried on his wicked machinations against the lawful son and heir of him, viz, against our own self, even in our infancy, so that we have been obliged to seek protection and safety of his most Sublime Majesty, the most powerful king of all kings on earth, shining in all the four corners of the world, namely, the Padi-Shah, Great Mogol of Indostan. But because the divine vengeance could not any longer forbear to punish such, and many a thousand other crimes of your king : and your Shah being be side, by reason of his effeminate weakness and lascivious laziness, unfit duly and with prudence to govern such an ancient and renowned learned and civilised people as you Persians are [tactful, this!] therefore God has raised us to deliver you from the tyranny, the heresy, and the vicious government of your Shah.

The manifesto goes on to demand immediate submission to Miri-Ways, together with the payment of the "usual tribute to our Pashas whom we shall send to you." Those who submit are promised that in "company with many millions of Mussalmans" they shall ultimately be "happy and merry for ever" in Paradis, whereas those who "do pertinaciously refuse to obey us will not only be in time hauled away by the Devils from top to bottom into the dark black stream of Hell-Fire, and be always roasting on the fire without dying; but you'll also be hunted up and down in all your houses and temples, in all beds and baths, in towns and villages in castles and strong towns, in woods and fields, upon the highest top of steeples and in unknown holes of steep rocks; nay, in hollow caves of the earth and in the narrow holes of savage creatures and so on, ad infinitum, the conditional curses gathering in fierceness and intensity as the conditional curses gathering in fierceness and intensity as the conditional curses gathering in fierceness.

and so on, ad infinitum, the conditional curses gathering in lieuter and intensity as they proceed. The manifesto concludes with the statement that "who does but submit and is obedient, will have safety, protection and peace; but whoever endeavours to or will accept of any assistance from the Russians to oppose us, shall certainly repent it."

This manifesto had an almost immediate result in bringing to the standard of Miri-Ways great numbers from all parts. At this critical moment there arrived in the camp (Miri-Ways had halled

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his army near Mahomedia) a Russian Embassy who, when admitted bis army not not not prince that his troops and allies had plundered to audience, told our Prince that his troops and allies had plundered Russian caravan coming from China; by which action the Rus-A Kussian sustained loss to the extent of five millions, and now demanded reparation and satisfaction. Miri-Ways was too wide awake to be taken in by such a childish representation, so he smiled at the embassy and said as he dismissed them: "That as for himself he would maintain a good amity with the Czar, who had been represented to him as a wise and brave Prince, but in case the Russians would in the future send caravans again to China, he would advise them to make first, an alliance with all the Tartarian Chams, particularly with the Grand Monarch, thereby to obtain the liberty of a free passage through and near their countries, or else to send some good troops to guard the caravans as he heard the Dutch and other Europeans were accustomed to do by sea, who always sent a good fleet with their merchantmen to the Indies, and finally that he could prescribe no laws to the Uzbegians, his allies." Then he marched with his army into the Province of Erak-properly the ancient country of the Parthians, and ever, as he marched, his followers increased. On he would go to Isfahan, in spite of the generals of the Shah of Persia who had determined to oppose his progress. The eldest son of Miri-Ways was now about seventeen years of age and well skilled in the art of war. His father ordered him to march away before him with twelve thousand men, and himself followed with most of his troops, leaving some behind for a reserve.

On the first day of March, 1722, the forces of Miri-Ways met those of the Persian Shah, and routed them entirely. The rout was sign enough for all the towns round about, which yielded one after another to the invader, without striking a blow. On went the victor to the capital, Isfahan, the place of the Shah's residence. So sudden was his arrival that that monarch had only just time to letire with two hundred men to a strong castle near by. Here he only remained for a very short time, as he did not feel himself safe there

Nobody knows for certain, our author declares, what became of the Shah. Miri-Ways caused a search to be made for him in all directions, sending out spies to look for him, but all to no purpose. Reports as to his fate were as numerous as diverse. Some said he

went to Bagdad and died there; others that his eyes and the eyes of one of his sons had been put out upon the borders of Turkey; yet others, that he was secretly in a castle not far from Isfahan, and others still, that he went to the Czar's Court, and acknowledged the Czar as Emperor, and also promised to cede to him the Lake Daria, famous for its riches, but as the Lake is located in Tartarian territories, and did not belong to the Shah, it is difficult to credit this statement!

Miri-Ways no sooner arrived before Isfahan than he determined to lose no time in seizing the suburbs. Some of these suburbs were very wealthy, rich Armenian merchants dwelling there and paying tribute to the Shah, their steward being entrusted with the work of gathering it in. Isfahan itself was not prepared to admit the invader within its walls, and pluckily prepared for a defence. Miri-ways would not reduce it by arms but by famine, and meantime his army must live. So, taking up his quarters in one of the richest of the suburbs, he called for a "free gift" from the rich Armenians, not forgetting, however, to name the sum he expected to receive from them.

They were all commanded to deliver five hundred young virgins of the chiefest of their families. Some spy informed Miri-Ways that the ladies selected for the fulfilment of this order were neither the most beautiful nor of the best families. This would not do for our hero. He immediately commanded those responsible for the selection and delivery of the tribute, to be beaten on the soles of their feet, with the bastinado, and to be kept as prisoners, till the handsomest women of the first rank had been picked out.

A keen-sighted diplomat and general, Miri-Ways clearly recognised that he would have against him the Czar of Russia. He therefore wrote to the Ottoman Porte, and "recommending" himself "to the Grand Signior's favour," informed him that he never intended to deprive the Shah, or his family, of the crown, but rather to maintain them in their state; he was nevertheless resolved to induce the Shah to forsake the superstition of Ali, and to embrace true doctrine of the Musselman, and to introduce and propagate the same all over the kingdom. And because the Shah was not at all qualified to govern, and was withal a great tyrant—his eldest son being even worse than himself, and therefore both very much hated

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jealousy Ambass by the States of the Kingdom—these latter had chosen the youngest son for their Shah, and were resolved not to suffer any more the old one who had put several of his subjects to death without any cause, to be their Shah. Therefore Miri-Ways informed the Grand Signior that as he did not intend to maintain the crown for himself, but for the young Prince, he shall not be regarded as a usurper, but as a protector, and he asked the Porte to assist him in his design. This letter gave great satisfaction to the Porte and the pretence also brought Miri-Ways additional credit amongst many of the Persians.

The Czar of Russia, thinking that a good opportunity presented itself, to put his country's commerce on a sure footing with the Great Mogol's country, by taking and securing a good port and some frontier towns on the Caspian Sea, veiled his real reasons with assumptions of friendly zeal on behalf of the fugitive Shah, and himself accompanied an army of 100,000 men to Astrachan. This move of the Czar could not, however, prevent the surrender of Isfahan. This event happened on October 13th, 1722.

Our Prince shewed great clemency at this surrender (declares our fiend the author), for all the inhabitants were taken in protection and maintained in their liberties and privileges; and the European inhabitants were well-treated above all others... As soon as Miri-Ways was master of the town and had brought matters therein toorder again, he took the young Persian Prince and girded the stimitar on him, according to custom, to show thereby that from that time he was to be the Sovereign of Persia; and he knew at the same time so to cozen the whole nation that they declared him publicly Protector of the Kingdom and tutor of the young king, which title he has still; and what with the increasing assistance of the Tartars, and what with the submission of the remaining Persians, he grows stronger from day to day.

This was written in the early spring of 1723. Our interesting author concludes his story with a sketch of the town of Isfahan, the royal palace there, and he writes his 'Finis' beneath the following suggestive statement:—

In the meantime 'tis' certain that the Turks had conceived great ambassy, and that Miri-Ways made all preparations to drive the

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Russians back out of Persia. But as to what has passed since, the newspapers have not been in agreement with each other, and what at one time has been positively affirmed has been as positively contradicted at another (there were no halfpenny daily papers circulating in Britain at this time!); so that nothing of certainty is to be gathered from them. Although the Czar has given very strict orders not to divulge anything there is no doubt but that some further news to be relied on will be received from Persia by some means or other.

(What did occur is recorded by the historian, and is available to all students of Persian history.)

Our Author at this stage in the career of his hero, Miri-Ways, seized the opportunity that presented itself, and, with the assistance of the Russians, set out to return to his own country.

JAMES CASSIDY.

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SOCIAL LIFE FOR WOMEN IN INDIA.

THIS is a very difficult question and I approach it with great diffidence, and frankly own I know very little about it. But it has interested me greatly because one woman, who is very dear to me, has tried very hard to bring about a sympathetic intercourse between the English and Native women of India.

She has not been very successful. Certainly a few Mohammedan ladies have been her friends, two have taken tea with her, and I know that she still corresponds with one of them; but she could never make them feel at ease in the presence of other English

ladies, or come to her voluntarily when she was not alone.

She wished to form a sort of salon. She told certain Native and English ladies she should be at home every Tuesday: they all came on the first Tuesday, but only the English ladies came on the second Tuesday. As she sadly wrote to me, "they came once to see what it was like and they never came again"; but, surely, they never ought to have felt themselves to be spectators, but performers therein lies the principle which makes a salon a success. lately I have been reading in St. Beuve of the Salon of Mademoiselle de l'Espinasse. How successful she was! She did not form her salon in this abrupt fashion, nor did it end so quickly. It grew naturally and unconsciously. One of Mademoiselle's friends came to see her; he went away delighted with himself and his powers of conversation; more friends came, and more and more, until Mademoiselle's salon was the talk of Paris. These people did not come to hear What Mademoiselle said to them, but for what she made them say. She made them feel that they were appreciated; so they talked haturally, without restraint, and when people do that, they are always interesting. They realised that when they were in Mademoiselle's Salon they talked well, and they came again and again to

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experience that splendid glowing feeling caused by the warmth of the admiration they felt for themselves. All through St. Beuve's charming little essay he repeats that Mademoiselle talked very little herself; and although Mademoiselle de l'Espinasse and salons are always spoken of together, not one witty sentence has come down to us as hers.

You will say that I imply that the Indian ladies must be won by flattery. Well, does not everybody like the proper sort of flattery better than anything else in the whole world? Friendship is, after all, only two or more people appreciating one another and showing it. To me, who see as it were a bird's eye view of the Indian women's question, it seems that the English lady does not sufficiently appreciate the Indian lady: her attitude is always that of a teacher towards a pupil; she cannot realise that a civilisation other than the English civilisation is good, admirable, and worthy of appreciation. Yet the Indian civilisation could be called more natural than our own. I believe Professor Teufelsdrökh was talking about just that subject the other evening. He said: "The civilisation of a country grows naturally out of a country, is the result of its climate and vegetation-things which come direct from God. Man cannot materially alter vegetation, and he cannot alter climate at all. The climate and vegetation of India are different to those of England; hence the civilisation is different." The Professor at this point drew gently and with great satisfaction at the long pipe which Mr. Sullivan had lately given him, and which I always think becomes him mightily, giving the necessary human touch to his wise and thoughtful physiognomy. He smiled on us in his quaint and whimsical way, and continued: "Curiously, if you think a little you will come to the conclusion that India's climate and vegetation are more suited to the animal 'man' than England's climate and vegetation. A man in India could do without clothes, and eat the food he finds uncooked, bananas and cocoanuts; not so the man in England. Without covering for his body he would die of cold, and the food-stuffs he would be a cooked. stuffs he would find, potatoes and corn, he could not eat uncooked. The Professor then stopped to rub his hands and to look into the fire, where he is the stopped to rub his hands and to look into the fire, where he doubtless saw pictures of his clothed and the clothed savages and the library of his clothed and the clothed savages and the library of his clothed and the clothed savages and the library of his clothed savages are the library of his clothed savages and the library of his clothed savages are the library of his clothed savages and the library of his clothed savages are the library of his clothed savages and the library of his clothed savages are the library of his clothed savages are the library of his clothed savages and his clothed savages are the library of his clothed savage clothed savages eating hot potatoes and cold cocoanuts. remember that Paul, who had just returned from India, and was, I

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think, writing a book about what he had seen during his four months' trip, tried to make the Professor tell us more. He was not successful; so while the Professor heedlessly sucked at the gurgling pipe and stared into the fire, Paul rambled on in this fashion: After all, civilisation is only restraint. The Indian has not to exercise much, lucky devil! A man growing up under his conditions becomes ease-expecting. It takes some time for him to change because a false civilisation is invading his country. The English enclose his open hunting-ground, and public fruit-garden; he starves, and the Anglo-Indian lady calls him 'apathetic,' but she forgets that the Indian expects his food ready to his hand. He has inherited the instinct that it is only to beautify the world he is put into it. So he sits carelessly in the sun, decorating perhaps a little pot with roses, a toy for the Memsaheb's baby." The Professor suddenly woke up: "Ah, the sun! He is the worker in all this. Robert Browning, although he never went further south than Italy, understood his influence so well; he put all our long discussions into 'Luria.' The Moor tells Domitzia, the Italian, that the sun has made him different to the Florentines; and do we not talk more genially and frankly in front of this glowing fire?" added the Professor.

"The sun's warmth, the caress of God, expands the heart of man, makes him lay bare his very soul, just as he makes a lotus in the noontime of a most glorious day, open her white corolla, pure as modesty itself, and reveal her quivering heart of gold. nearer God we are!' exclaims Luria; 'we have feeling, the East's gift' and what is Feeling, is it not the naked soul impressed? Man in the warm East has cast off his clothes (we all smiled); he has allowed his soul to be exposed to every passing action of his fellowmen. Consequently he is more sensitive, and more easily impressed, at the same time simpler, and more easily duped, more transparent, or rather, more clearly seen: men from more northern climes know more of him than they know of each other. I have heard men from the East called more cunning than men from the North; that is because if the man from the East is deceitful he is found out; he from the North hides his deceit with his clothes (we smiled again). He has always been rolled up in them to keep out the cold, the clothes of restraint. His climate has not allowed him to be rash always; he has had to consider his actions, to fight against something—the cold; he has become careful, calculating, secretive, economical, Thought is his peculiar heritage. Browning always hoped it would be possible to merge the characteristics of the East and the West in the same men. He used to say: 'If only Thought's character and per. manence could be given to the vivid but too transitory Feeling of the East!"

"What an opportunity for the English in India!" broke in

Paul.

"Ah," sighed the Professor, " if the Anglo-Indians looked upon India as their home, they might bring this about, but they do not: they live for their short, ever-recurring leave, which is to be spent in their English homes; very, very few have allowed the sun to caress them."

"But Mr. Kipling?" again broke in the impetuous Paul.

"He understands well those whom the sun influences, but he is not of them," answered the Professor. "However, there is one man, a Mr. Bain, whom I would like to meet. From him have come two most lovely poems; they are ostensibly translations, but I think it is he himself who has been translated, and India's sun having expanded his heart, it has brought forth the blossoms of most luxuriant and passionate beauty."

" Casting the body's vest aside The Sun into his soul doth glide,"

misquoted the incorrigibly flippant Paul.

"Every continent has had a distinct natural individuality stamped on it by climatic geograpical conditions," resumed the Professor.

"Europe and Asia have alone retained theirs. Europeans have pushed the Tudigines, the Erdlente from out of America, and Africa, and Australia; but so inexorable is Nature, so jealous is she for the dependence of her children, that, wrapping herself around the new comers, she has comers, she has compelled them to feel her influence. We talk of the independent the independence of the Americans. Is it not caused by America's largeness of lands largeness of landscape? Also, there is a most lovable 'camaraderie' which characterises which characterises our Australian cousins. Can we not account for this by the more this by the many ears of corn which must divide each worker in Australia so that Australia, so that when they meet they fraternise exceedingly, and make very much of one another?

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SOCIAL LIFE FOR WOMEN IN INDIA

"In India we have still the *Erdlente*, children who seem to have sprung from the very soil. They will not be exterminated because they are rooted by a literature; but they can change, and I wish not for a wholly Europeanised world: it would be so dull! We must preserve the passionate languor of the East, and the glorious colour of beautiful, sun-bathed India." The Professor stopped to relight his pipe, and then closed his eyes, while Paul talked on in his usual emphatic manner:

"But the men must change or die. The Englishmen work, and Englishmen are competing with Indians; so the Indians must work too. Of course, from an ideal decorative point of view it is a pity—but necessary—" here Paul paused, waved his hands, pushed up one of his cuffs, a little trick he has when excited; then he looked just a little shy and went on again: "But the women, the Anglo-Indian adies, are, I believe, trying to Europeanise them. Why need they? Look at the Japs: their men wear European clothes, but the women are still rolled up in their light little kimonos, and are too charming to be practical, and too prettily dressed to be useful." By this time the Professor was asleep and we knew by experience that we should be allowed to go to bed at all, if we let Paul get warmed to the subject of Mousmés; so we woke up the Professor and broke up the party.

Before I began telling you about the Professor, I was saying the only solution of the women's social question in India was that the English lady must appreciate the Indian lady; and although the Professor spoke perhaps not very accurately, while he talked, it sadually came into my mind why my friend has not been successful bringing about a friendly intercourse between English and Indian The former have never realised that they must appreciate wite different qualities in the Indian women to what they find in heir friends—they must be peculiarly emotional and demonstrative, and at the same time shy, because sensitive. We are apt, in England and, to use the term "emotional" in a derogatory sense. This ought not to be; for to be emotional means to show the emotions or feelhis show the this is not carried too far it adds zest to life. People who show none of their feelings may not be embarrassing; but they that the Leviner of their feelings may not be emballaced, the think hat the Indian women are necessarily ignorant because they have

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not read many books; but they forget that it is not always necessary to look into the mirror of great men's minds to know our fellows; neither does everybody require a man-made ear-trumpet to hear the voice of Nature. Perhaps the impressionable Indians can dispense with these: certainly, the picturesqueness of their language shows a wonderful appreciation of Nature.

The Englishwoman forgets she is a stranger in the land; is it not she who should try to acquire the individuality natural to the land of her sojourning? I very much doubt if she can ever do this; certainly it will take a long time. Meanwhile, let the English. woman be grateful to the Indian woman for something material which must lead to a temporary, sympathetic intercourse and be the stepping-stone to something deeper. Can she not ask for advice or help in charitable work? Or for aid in learning the vernacular, or for valuable light on some difficult matter of legend which may occur in a book treating of things Indian? The Anglo-Indian must turn pupil: then, perhaps, if the attitude is unaffected, sincere, real, after some long time the Indian lady will come to the English lady's house uninvited, because she will know she is valued and wanted; she will have gained the self-respect and self-confidence the want of which before kept her away. She will go in and out (purdah permitting) for chats which benefit herself and her hostess, and what is best in both will be assimilated by both.

But when she goes to large assemblies, deep down in her mind there will always be a tangible something which she consciously seeks. We live in a purposeful age. Salons are not any more possible—even in England there are no gatherings with talk as their only object. If you will think quite frankly, you will own that matrimony is really the object of all assemblies which are not ostensibly for culture, or for charity or for—let me breathe it in a whisper-"politics," the politics of the country, or of society. You will say that the gathering in the pursuit of culture is a salon, but it is not. At the salon the fare is spontaneous, impromptu; but at he intellectual gathering as now held in England, be it a private debating society, meeting of the Japanese Society, or a dinner at the Savage Club—some one comes with a prepared intellectual pie; it is well field with plums, and the rest of the party pick at them, and some times even discuss their flavour, and if there be present very clevely

SOCIAL LIFE FOR WOMEN IN INDIA

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people indeed, perhaps one of them may be emulated to make there and then yet another pie.

When we think of any of these gatherings in India, we are immediately confronted by the purdah question; therefore it is increased to consider which of those meetings would be a success without men. Striking out those held for matrimonial and political rasons, we have left those which have charity and culture for their object. Both these are, I believe, attainable, if the Englishwoman is willing to respect the prejudices of her Indian friends, and will not try to stamp out their individuality, but to develop it.

C. E. HALDENSTEIN.

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THE COUNTRY OF MEKRAN-ITS PAST HISTORY.

"We are consolidating our position in Mekran."

-Lord Curzon's Budget Speech of 30th March, 1001 ORD CURZON'S visit to the Mekran coast during his famous tour in the Persian Gulf, last December, has drawn the attention of the civilised world to this little known part of Baluchistan. His Excellence held a Durbar of the Mekrani chiefs on the 6th of December, 1903, at Pasni, on the S.S. "Hardinge." His Excellency's special reference to it in his Budget speech this year, shows that this province now begins to rise a little in importance, as far as frontier defences are concerned This paper is intended to give a brief historical account of the country, as given by some oriental authors, especially Firdousi, and by the Greek writers.

The boundary of Mekran, as given by modern geographers, is well nigh the same as that given by Arab and Persian authors,* who say that it is bounded on the west by Kerman, on the east by India, on the north by Sistan, and on the south by the Indian ocean.

The name Mekran has been variously derived.

(a) According to Hamzah Mekran is a contracted form of Mah Keran † i. e., a town (mah) situated on the shores of the sea (kerin). It is so named because it is situated on the shores of the Arabian sea.

(b) Some Arab writers derive its name from Mokran, son of Farek, son of Sam, son of Noah. They say that this Mokran founded it and gave it its name. gave it its name. These Arab authors similarly derive the name of the adjoining provident of the adjoi adjoining province of Kerman, from Kerman, another descendant of Noah.

(c) Some think this word to be a corruption of Persian Mahir This is a plausible derivation and it is support khoran i. e., fish-eaters.

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^{* &}quot;Dictionnaire géographique de la Perse," par Barbier de Meynard, p. 540. † Vide "Dictionnaire geographique de la Perse," par Barbier de Meynard, P. 540, Meynard i) p. 538. (1861) p. 538.

THE COUNTRY OF MEKRAN—ITS PAST HISTORY 495

by the fact that, as pointed out by Dr. Bellew, St. John* and others. by the country, or at least a part of this country, was the country of the hthyophagi.† This Greek name also signified "fish-eaters." Lord outpop thinks that this derivation also is erroneous. He says the word Dravidian name and appears as Mokara in the "Brhat Sanhita" Waraha Mihira, in a list of the tribes contiguous to India on the west. Curzon's "Persia," vol. ii. p. 281 n. 1.)

Of their custom of fish-eating Arrian says: "These people are called hthyophagi, because they live upon fish The tenderest of them hey eat raw as soon as they draw them out of the water; but they dry the herer and harder ones in the sun, and when they are thoroughly baked. they grind them down and make meal and loaves of them. Others bake Their cattle also live on dried fish; for the takes from this meal. muntry is destitute of meadows and does not produce grass " the whole diet of these consists of fish. Few of them sow any corn the land; and what little is produced they use as a relish to the fish; they use fish in place of bread. The most prosperous of them allect the bones of the whales cast up by the sea, and use these instead timber for their houses; the broad bones which they find they make doors. The majority, who are poor, make their houses of the ackbones of fishes.+ Some of these people "wore the thick skins of thes as clothing." \ Curtius Rufus, | Diodorus Siculus \ Plutarch** Strabo †† also refer to their customs of living on fish, rearing deir cattle on fish, and building houses of fish bones. Of the bones which the used in building houses Arrian says: "Some of these whales are ashore on many parts of the coast, when the ebb sets in being prisoned in the shallows; others are thrown up on the dry ground by tough storms, and they perish and rot. When the flesh has fallen the bones are left, which the people use for making their houses. targer bones in their sides form beams for the houses, and the ones rafters, the jawbones the doorposts. For many of

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[&]quot;The Country of Balochistan," by A. W. Hughes, p. 152.

Arrian's "Indica," chap. xxvi. Vide Dr. Chinnock's translation of Arrian's "Anabasis Arrian's "Indica" (1893). p. 430.

bid. chap. xxiv. Dr. Chinnock's translation (1893), pp. 434-35. Aman's "Indica" chap. xxix. Dr. Chinnock's translation (1093) 1.

Alistory of Alexander the Great," book ix. chap. x; vide M'Crindle's translation in Bibliotheca Historica," bk. xvii. chap. cv.; vide ibid, p. 298.

Alistory of Alexander the Great," (1896), p. 263.

Plutarch's Lives, Life of Alexander, translated by John and William Langhorne (1995) 1.

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Plutarch's Lives, Life of Alexander, translated by John and "The Geography of Strabo," bk. xvi. chap. iv. 13, translated by Hamilton (1817), vol. iii., p. 198.

them reach the length of 25 fathoms (152 feet)." * Arrian describes the following legend about these fish-eating people. There is an island called Nosala in this part of the Arabian Sea, and "it is sacred to the Sun . . . One of the Nereids dwelt in it; but her name was not mentioned. She had communication with every man who approached the island, and having changed him into a fish, cast him into the sea But the Sun was angry with the Nereid, and ordered her to depart from the island. She agreed to depart, but begged that her disease should be got over. The Sun hearkened to her request, and pitying the men whom she had turned into fishes, he turned them back again into men. And from these, they said, the race of the Ichthyophagi sprang, which continued down to the time of Alexander."†

Coming to the history of the country, we find that modern writers begin it only from the time of Alexander the Great. Mr. A. W. Hughes in his "Country of Balochistan" says, "Whether Makran in a by-gone age was a province independent in itself, or belonging to some other power, or whether broken up into a number of petty dependent or independent states, it is impossible to say, for no authentic information is available to judge of its condition at so distant a period of history." ‡ But we get some facts from Firdousi's Shahnameh which lead us to times anterior to Alexander. We will give here a short outline of the history of this country.

Mirkhond, § in his Rauzat-us-Safa, attributes its foundation, on another authority, to King Kaiomars, who ruled over Persia, before the Peshdadian Kings. From the Shah-nameh we learn that in the time of King Kaus, it formed a part of Irân's territories. After his war with Mazinderan, when he went on a tour in all his dominions, he visited this country also, and from there took boats to go to other parts of his territories. || Then the country seems to have passed away from the hand of Iron to the Shah hand of Iran to that of Turan under Afrasiab. According to the Shall names Afrasiab. nameh, Afrasiab, the Turanian king, had waged five wars with Kaikhosth the Iranian king, and it seems that it was perhaps in the first war that Iran had lost it.

Before proceeding with the history of the country at this period, let us observe that, though these wars between Iran and Turan are

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^{* &}quot;Indica," chap. xxx. Dr. Chinnock's translation, p. 436.
† "Indica," chap. xxxi. Dr. Chinnock's translation (1893), p. 437.
† "The Country of Balochistan," by A. W. Hughes (1877), p. 173.
§ David Shea's translation (1832), p. 60.

| Mohl's "Le Livre des Rois," ii., p. 5. Small edition, p. 1.
little from Mecan's Calcutta text, which seems to be more correct here. Mohl's text differs

THE COUNTRY OF MEKRAN—ITS PAST HISTORY 497

legendary, their legends have some facts at the bottom upon which they me based. Mohl, in his preface to the volume which treats of these wars agos: "Plus on étudiera l'œuvre de Firdousi, plus on se convaincra, e crois, qu'il n'a rien inventé, et qu'il s'est contenté de revêtir de son hillant coloris les traditions qui formaient l'histoire populaire de la Perse. Ces traditions devaient reposer dans ce pays, comme chez tous peuples, sur des souvenirs antiques conserves dans des chants oppulaires, perpétués par la transmission orale."

That Firdousi had some facts to proceed upon, appears from the fact that we find in the older Avesta and Pehlavi books, several references to the wars described by the poet. Again, Mr. Hughes Buller, I.C.S., the writer of the Gazetteer of Baloochistan, whose intelligent questions about some of the places of Baloochistan from an Iranian point of view had at first led me to the study of the question, which forms the subject of this paper, has kindly sent me a few notes, written on the spot by Munshi Abdur Rab, and referring to the country of Mekran. We find from these notes that Baluch tradition, as heard at present, and the manes of some of the archæological ruins of the country, also support the account of Firdousi.

Proceeding further in the account of the Shah-nameh, we find that Afrasiab offers Mekran to Kaikhosru, as one of the terms of peace, which he seeks in the midst of his fifth war with Turan. He says:

Khorâsan va Mekran zamin pish-i-to'st. Marâ shâdmâni ba kam bish-i-to'st.

i.e., Khorasan and Mekran are at your disposal. I shall be pleased with whatever, little or more, you will be pleased to give me.

Kaikhosru does not accept the terms and Afrâsiab is defeated. He tosses the desert (biâbân), comes to the sea (ab-i-zareh) and goes on board the ships with a part of his army to go to Kangdez, situated somewhere on the coast of China. The voyage from the coast of Mekran takes about six months. Kaikhosru thinks of pursuing Afrasiab. He sends a message to the king of Mekran, who was a hibutary of Afrasiab and who helped him to surrender and to allow him to pass to the coast from his country. The king of Mekran sends an insolent reply and refuses to allow the king to pass from his country with his army. Kaikhosru declares war against him and marches lowards his country with a large army. He sends a final message, saying:

"Allow me to pass and supply my army with food." The message had

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^{*} Vol. iv. Preface, p. 1.

no effect. In the battle that ensued, the king of Mekran was killed His baggage with his elephants* fell into the hands of Kaikhosru,

The Iranian king stayed in Mekran for one year and did his best to improve its state of cultivation. He sent for expert agriculturists from different directions. So the next spring found the place where the king lived well cultivated. The king left the city in spring and

crossed the desert to go to the sea.

He met with exceptionally good weather in the Mekran desert, There were no dust storms. It was cloudy and rainy. He had taken with him in wheeled carriages drawn by buffaloes (gäu-mish) the food required during the journey for his army. Having crossed the desert safely, he came to the shores of the Arabian sea, and before embarking, prayed to God to render his sea voyage safe and secure. It took him more than six months to cross the sea. On embarking, he and his army were much surprised with the sea-monsters of various animal shapes and forms that they saw in the sea there. Firdousi's description of the sea monsters as seen by Kaikhosru and his army, is worth quoting for comparing it with Nearchus's account given later on.

"The army remained astonished in that sea. Everybody pointed out with his finger (something) to the king. They saw lions and bulk in the sea, and the bulls were fighting with the lions. (They saw) also men whose hair was like a noose and whose whole body was covered with wool like the sheep. Some (animals) had their heads like those of the buffalo, whose two hands were behind their backs and whose feet were in their front. Some had the body of a fish and the head of a leopard, the head of an onager and the body of a whale. Some had the head of a pig and the body of a sheep. The whole of the sea was full of these (animals). They showed these animals to one another and

remembered the Creator."

Kaikhorsu then landed on the shores of China which led to Kangdez, wherein Afarsiab had taken refuge. He attacked the

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^{*} That the Kings of Mekran in later times also had elephants in their army, we lear trade in Tabari. According to this writer when the same also had elephants in their army, after the trade in the same and this country. from Tabari. According to this writer, when the Arabs conquered this country, after the fall of Yazdajird, a large number of elephants fell in their hands. Omar asked his general to sell them to the princes of the adjoining country of Sind and to distribute the process among his soldiers.—Partie iv. chap. 72, Tabari traduit par Zotenberg, vol. iii. pp. 164 word admits of this interpretation and is even now used in that sense. But the meaning inappropriate here because the king did not want shipbuilders there, so we must take the word "kisht" in its other sense, viz. cultivation.

1 We learn from Firdousi that there were two forts of the name of Kangdez.

^{**}We learn from Firdousi that there were two forts of the name of Kangder. Was in Turân. This is generally spoken of by Firdousi simply as Kang. It is more parties larly spoken of as Kang-Behesht or Behesht-kang. It is only once, that it is spoken of the name of Kangder.

**This is generally spoken of by Firdousi simply as Kang. It is spoken of the name of Kangder. This is generally spoken of the name of Kangder. This is generally spoken of the name of Kangder. This is spoken of the name of Kangder. This is spoken of the name of Kangder. This is generally spoken of the name of the name

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fort; Afrasiab fled by a subterranean passage. Kaikhosru lived there for one year and returned by the same sea-route to the shores of Mekran-The return voyage generally took one year, but the winds being very avourable, it took him seven months. He crossed the desert again and came to the capital town, where the governor and other chiefs (muhlaran) of the country met to welcome him.

Proceeding further in the Shahnameh, we find that the next reference to Mekran is in the account about Alexander the Great. But here Firdousi does not speak at any length about his march through this country. We will here examine briefly the account of his march, as given by the Greek writers, in order to be able to compare Firdousi's account of Mekran with that of the Greek writers.

Among these Greek writers, Arrian* who lived in the second century A. D., is considered to be the best authority, because he is said to have based his "Anabasis of Alexander" on the authority of Ptolemy and Aristobulus, two of Alexander's officers, and his "Indica" on the works of Megasthenes and Nearchus, who accompanied Alexander. These Greek authors know this country of Mekran by the name of Gadrosia. Under this general name, they seem to include at times Ora, the country of the Oritians and the country of the Ichthyophagi. Of the Oritians, Dr. Chinnock says; "These were a people of Gadrosia, inhabiting a coast district nearly 200 miles long in the present Beloochistan, recently brought under British rule by Sir Robert Sandeman."† As to the Ichthyophagi, they lived, according to Arrian, "south of the Gadrosians, along the sea itself." According to M'Crindle, "Gadrosia in Arrian denotes the inland region which extends from the Oreitai to Karmania; the maritime region between the same limits he calls the country of Ichthyophagi."¶

The Greek writers say that before Alexander, Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, and Queen Semiramis had tried this route in their lovasion of India, but had failed, Cyrus having escaped with only seven men out of a large army, and Semiramis with about twenty. Alexander knowingly took this route for his return journey, to show to

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Rang-dez, perhaps by mistake or for the sake of meter. The second and the real Kang-dez is that, to go to which, Afrasiab and Kaikhosru cross the Arabian Sea and take about seven bistory (article on Persia in the Encylopædia Britannica, vol. xviii. p. 594).

1883. Also M'Crindle's "Invasion of Alexander" and "Indica," translated by Dr. Chinnock bistory, p. 325, p. 4.

lbid, p. 325, n. 4.

"Indica," chap. xxvi. p. 430.

"Invasion of India by Alexander (1896)," p. 169, n. 2.

the world that he succeeded where others had failed. He divided his army into three parts. The first was placed in charge of Nearchus, who was accompanied by Alexander's best pilot Onesikritos. It was to sail by the sea coast. Alexander himself was to lead the second division of the army through Gadrosia, or Mekran, moving it in a line parallel to the coast, so as to be of some use to Nearchus and his army in case of want of food, water, etc. The third division was to march from further north under Craterus. All the three divisions were to meet at Kermania or Kirman. Alexander's army met with great difficulties for want of food and water. Alexander had preferred the seas on of summer for this celebrated march, because, though hotter, it was the season when rain occasionally fell in this inhospitable region. "The scorching heat and lack of water destroyed a great part of the army, and especially the beasts of burden, most of which perished from thirst, and some of them even from the depth and heat of the sand, be cause it had been thoroughly scorched by the sun. For they met with lofty ridges of deep sand, not closely pressed and hardened, but such as received those who stepped upon it just as if they were stepping into muds or rather into untrodden snow . . . The lack of water often compelled them to make the marches of unusual length . . . They travelled by night." "The men themselves were knocking the waggons to pieces, not being able to draw them on account of the depth of the sand."+

Now, it is in Firdousi's account of the war of Kaikhosru with Afrasiab and with the King of Mekran that we get several particulars about the country of Mekran which can be compared with those given by the Greek writers. We learn the following facts from the Shahnameh;—(1) Kaikhosru crossed the desert after the setting in of the spring, i.e., in summer, because it is only then that the weather is rainy, and there are more chances of getting water. Alexander the Great also crossed it from the direction of Sind in summer. Strabo says of him: "The summer was purposely chosen for leaving India, for at that season it rains in Gadrosia, and the rivers and wells are filled, but in winter they fail."

(2) The dust of the desert was one of the terrors of the journey Kaikhosru fortunately did not suffer much from it. According to Arrian the Greeks, motorial and the desert was one of the terrors of them the Greeks met with lofty ridges of deep sand ... Most of them

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Arrian's "Anabasis of Alexander," by Dr. Chinnock, chap. xxiv. p. 330.

[†] Ibid. chap. xxv. p. 331.
† "The Geography of Strabo," book xv. chap. ii., 3 Hamilton and Falconer's translation (1857), vol. iii.p. 121.
| Arrian, "Anabasis," xxiv. 330.

THE COUNTRY OF MEKRAN—IIS PAST HISTORY 501

perished in the sand.* Strabo says the same thing. "Besides the perisited in provisions, the scorching heat was distressing, as also the deep and burning sand. In some places there were sand hills." †

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(3) The country produced no corn, and so Kaikhosru had to carry himself all food for his army on wheeled wagons drawn by buffaloes. Alexander had to do the same. He had made arrangements to have the food from adjoining countries. It appears from Arrian that he also had ocarry his food and baggage in waggons and carriages drawn by beasts

(4) The country was ruled by several chiefs (mehetaran) all acknowledging one person as the chief ruler (mehetar). Firdousi's account answers bacertain extent Mr. Hughes' question referred to above. viz., "whether Mekran in a bygone age was a province independent in itself or belonging to some other power, or whether broken up into a number of petty dependent or independent states." It seems from Firdousi that the country was divided into petty districts governed by separate rulers (mehetars) who acknowledged one person as their king, who was known as the king of Mehetars, and this king again acknowledged the king of Mekran as his Lord Suzerain or the Paramont, Power and paid him an annual tribute.

(5) Kaikhosru, when he took the country from the King of Mekran, who had transferred his loyalty to the king of Turan, lived there for some time and sent for expert cultivators from other countries and improved its state of agriculture.

(6) The sea of the Mekran coast abounded with extraordinarily large & animals or sea monsters. Kaikhosru and his army were frightened and surprised by their shape and size. They had fantastic shapes of kinds of animals. We learn from Greek historians that Alexander's admiral Nearchus and his army also were equally surprised. Arrian § sys, "Great whales live in the external sea, as well as fish far larger han those in this internal sea " (the Mediterranean). " Nearchus says hat when they were sailing from Cyiza they saw at daybreak the water of the sea being blown upward as if being borne violently aloft from the action of bellows The sailors were so alarmed at this that

^{*} Arrian, "Anabasis," chap. xxv. p. 332.

* "Geography of Strabo," Ariana, book xv. chap. ii. 6; vol. iii. p. 122. For the brdships which Alexander suffered during his journey through Mekran vide also (a) Bistorica," of Diodorus Siculus, book xviii. chap. xiv. Vide for these, M'Crindle's "Invasion (a) J. and W. Langhorne's translation of "Plutarch's "Life of Alexander." Vide for the Anabasis of Alexander," bk. vi. chap. xxv.

* "Indica," chap. xxx. p. 436.

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they let the oars fall from their hands When they got near the beasts, the men shouted as loud as they could, the trumpets sounded, and they made as much noise as possible with the rowing."

Proceeding further in our history of the country, we come to the reign of Noshirwan (Chosroes I.) and find, that even in his time, Mekran paid a tribute to Iran. Noshirwan sends to the Indian king the game of Nard (a kind of backgammon) in return of that of chess sent by the latter. Therewith he sends him as present a few things which he had received as tribute from Mekran.

Then we come to the reign of Khosru Parviz (Chosroes II.), and find in its account two references to the country. First, when he prepares the celebrated throne known as the Takdis and decorates it in the best way possible, he sends for artisans from all different countries under his rule. Among these, we find the name of Mekran. Secondly, when his son Shiroui rebels against him, he converses with his queen Shirin, and among the likely places of his territories, to which he wants to run away, one is Mekran. So we find that up to the time of Khusru Parviz, Mekran was a tributary of Irân. We find no more reference to it in the Shahnameh.

Then we learn from Tabari that it continued under Iranian rule up to the time of its last monarch Yazdajird. On his downfall, Omar conquered one after another the eastern provinces of Khorasan, Kirman and Seistan and then that of Mekran.* Tabari's account of this country is worth noting here. He says that the cities of Mekran, Tiz, and Khasch were the principal cities of the country at that time. The people of Mekran, finding their country invaded by the Arabs, asked the assistance of the king of the neighbouring province of Sind. The king of Sind, who was then known as the Retbil of Sind, personally led an army to their assistance, but was defeated and killed, and Mekran fell into the handsof the Arabs. Abdallah, the Arab general, then sent his lieutenant Soharto Omar, who reigned as Khalif from A. D. 634 to 644, to ask for permission to invade Sind and a Khalif from A. D. 634 to 644, to ask for permission to invade Sind and a supplier of the country to invade Sind and the cou to invade Sind. Omar asked Sohar about the condition of the country of Mahran. of Mekran. Sohar said: "It is a country of which the mountains are real mountains. It real mountains and of which the plains also are like mountains, it is a country which the worst is a country which has little of water, whose date fruits are the worst of their kind, and of their kind, and whose people are the most warlike of men. If you have a small army there is a small army the small a small army there, it shall be annihilated and can do nothing. army is larger, it shall be annihilated and can do nothing. army is larger, it shall be annihilated and can do nothing. little of

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^{* &}quot;Tabari," par Zotenberg, vol. iii. pp. 518-20.

THE COUNTRY OF MEKRAN-ITS PAST HISTORY 503

The country which is on the other side of this is still worse." On hearing this account of Mekran and of the country of Sind beyond it, Omar did not grant to Abdallah the necessary permission to go further, and asked him to sell off to the princes of Sind the elephants captured in the war with Mekran. An Arab writer places this event not in the reign of Omar but in that of his successor Othman (Osman).* ing to this writer, Osman had directed his general Abdallah to send a person as a spy to the frontiers of Sind to study the conditions of the country which borders it. So Abdallah deputed on that errand Hakim ben Djabalah, who on his return gave the above version of his experiences of the country of Mekran situated on the frontier of Sind.

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It appears that on the strength of this report, the subjugation of the country was not completed at the time. Later on in the reign of Khalifat Moawijah (A.D.661-680). Zyad ben Abi Sofian was entrusted with the work of completing the subjugation. Zyad sent Ased bin Amr-el Hadidi-el-Azdi to do the work. Ased crossed Mekran and went up to Sind, where he died shortly. So Senan bin Selamat-el-Odheili was appointed to complete the work of subjugation. Senan had heard the report about the inhospitality of this country made by Hakim ben Djabalah (to Osman according to one authority and to Omar according to another). So he is reported to have said: "You show me the way of Mokkaran,† but what is the difference between this order and execution? i..., to send a person to this inhospitable country is the same as to order him to be executed.) What interest can Mokkran offer to me, who do not care for conquest or for commerce? I am well informed and I will not go to this country, whose very name frightens me." However, after this protest, he seems to have undertaken the work and completed the conquest of the country. But before doing so, he is reported to have ordered all his soldiers, who accompanied him on the expedition, to divorce their wives, so that they may not be tempted to run away from the barren country for the sake of their wives. §

The subjugation of this country by the Arabs was finally completed about A. D. 710 by Mohammad bin Kassim, who passed through it lo India, to display, as Gibbon says, the "Mahomedan banner on the banks of the Indus."||

[&]quot;Dictionnaire géographique de la Perse," extrait du Modjem-el-bouldan de Yaqout, la Barbier de Meynard (1851), p. 539.

Most of the Arab writers are said to have written Mekran as Mokkaran. I translate thing I translate this from the French translation of M. Barbier de Meynard, p. 539-

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Proceeding further in our outlines of the history of the country, we learn from Ebn Haukal, whom Ousley* places in the beginning or middle of the 10th century A. D. (902-968), that during his time, some part of this country, which he considered as a part of Sind and Hind, was still owned by the Guebres, or the Zoroastrians of Persia†. Ebn Haukal says of this country, "In the province of Makran they speak the Persian and Makrani languages Makran is an extensive country, but liable to scarcity and want of provisions."

In the Hijri year 340 (A. D. 962) a part of the country had passed, according to Isthakhri, into the hands of an adventurer named Yça ben Madan. Isthakhri's reference to this country as given by M. Barbier de "Mokran is a country very vast and ex-Meynard, is worth quoting: tended but covered with uncultivated plains and arid and desert solitudes. The soil is little fertile. In the year 340 (Hijri) an adventurer Yca ben Madan, better known in the country by the name of Mehra, made himself master of the town of Kiz, which is half way from Multan and which has many palm trees. The known towns of Mokran are Qaireboun, Beid, Bimend and Derek. They are small and of little importance. They also speak of Khaschek, which is the chief place of the district of Khouroudj (or Houroudj) in the hottest part of the country, and lastly, of Restan which is also named Djerian. It is there chiefly, that they produce refined sugar, of which there is an extensive commerce. Masekan produces the best quality but in small quantity."

The later history of the country, as summed up by Mr. Hughes, on the authority of Ross, shows, that in the early part of the 11th century, it still formed the maritime appendage of Persia and that it was then taken by Masaud, the son of Mahmud Giznnavi. Very little is known of the country till the early part of the 17th century, when it was ruled over by separate maliks or rulers, whose power was soon overthrown by the rising authority of a tribe, known as the Bolida tribe. Shah Bilar, who ruled there in about A. D. 1729, was the last prince of this tribe olding an extensive sway over this country. The rule of the Bolida tribe was overthrown by the Gitchkis, who descended from a Sikh chief named Panna Singh of Lahore. In the reign of Nadir Shah it was reconquered by the Persians and made a tributary. In 1750 Mohbat Khan, the eldest son of Abdula Khan, the ruler of Khelat, was

^{*} Ousley's "Oriental Geography of Ebn Hankol," (1800), Preface p. 2.

[†] Ibid. p. 146. † Ibid. p. 152. § "The Country of Balochistan," (1877) pp. 174-176.

THE COUNTRY OF MEKRAN-ITS PAST HISTORY 505

confirmed in the government of Balochistan by Nadir Shah. From this time forward, the country of Mekran has been under the rule of the Khans of Khelat, and with their submission has passed under the protection of the British Government.

In this short outline, we have seen that Mekran was once ruled over by the Zoroastrian Kings of Persia and even as late as the 10th century A.D. a part of it was ruled over by Zoroastrian chiefs. Mr. Hughes Buller, I. C. S., is carrying on at present archæological researches in this muntry, and a good deal of light is expected to be thrown on the past hisiory of the country. From the few notes of Munshi Abdur Rab's travels. we learn, that some of the ruins of the country—such as the two Karezes (i.e., underground water channels), Kausi and Khusravi, bear the names of the Kianiar kings, Kai Kaus and Kai Khusru referred to in this paper, and modern Baluch traditions, point to the fact of Kai Khusru's visit of the country referred to by Firdousi. Some of the ruins of the country, supposed to be the ruins of some kind of waterworks and known as Bahmani, are attributed by the people to another Iranian ruler Bahman * whose exploits have formed the subject of a separate work in verse known as Bahman-nameh.† Again a number of dams found in several parts of Balochistan and known as Gaur bands or Gabr‡ bands, point to the ancient Iranian rule there.

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Vide Major Mockler's article on "Ruins in Makran," in the Journal of the Royal static Society (New Series) vol. ix. p. 123.

[†] Vide for an old Ms. of this work my paper, "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and ip. 238-39 Rana," in the Journal of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society Vol. xxi, No. lviii,

[‡] For the original of the word Gabr or Gaur vide my paper on "An Avesta Amulet" the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. v, No. vii.

THE CAUCASIC ORIGIN OF THE DRAVIDIANS

ORE than fifty years ago philology reigned so supreme in the land of scientific investigation that even strictly anthropological studies did not emerge out of the ordeal without bearing evident traces of philological influence. Perhaps this is most evident in the linguistic basis that was adopted for the classification of the races of mankind. Its exponents observed a certain number of common characteristic features of a number of languages, and concluded that the races who speak these languages must belong to the same stock. But at length, when a reaction set in against the results thus obtained, this principle of classification was entirely discredited, and it is now believed by all sound ethnologists that similarity or even identity of language may be due to social contact, conquest, invasion, emigration, amalgamation, absorption, commercial relations or religious contact, and that, as Professor Sayce well puts it," language belongs to the community, not to the race. It can, therefore, testify only to social contact, never to racial kinsmanship. Language is a social product, not a racial one." Thus, though the ethnic characteristics of the first order of importance are now, in the words of Dr. Broca, not linguistic but physical, yet the philological principle has still maintained its ground with regard to the alleged Turanian origin of the Dravidians.

From the general characteristics of agglutination, integrity of roots, facility in producing new forms, want of irregular forms, rapid divergences of dialects, free and general root-me aning of words, usage of words as nouns, adjectives, or verbs, the community of roots and words, identity of pronominal roots, and the peculiar phonetic character or 'harmony of vowels" that is common to the Dravidian and other Turanian languages, philologists argued the ethnical identity of the various tribes speaking them. All these Turanians, it was put forth by Prof. Max Müller and Baron Bunsen, migrated in two bodies towards the north and towards the south. One migration to the south settled on the rivers Meikong. Menam, the Irrawady and the Brahmaputra, and formed the Tai tribes.

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THE CAUCASIC ORIGIN OF THE DRAVIDIANS

file one to the south followed the courses of the rivers Amur and the the one founded the Tangusic tribes. A second migration to the south, iding the country occupied, pushed on to the islands and the sea and the foundation of the Malay tribes, while a second to the north is ppposed to have originated the numerous Mogol tribes and to have westward along the chain of the Altai mountains. A third othe north produced the Turkish peoples, even as far west as the Ural nountains and the frontier of Europe. A third to the south is believed phase advanced towards Tibet and India, and in later times to have nured its hordes through the Himalayas and to have formed the original ative population of India. The last Turanian wanderers to the south nece, according to this theory, the forefathers of the Tamils, and the let to the north were the ancestors of the Finns and of the Basques in main as well as of the Samoieds in Siberia. All these moving streams foeople, it should be remembered, flowed from the mountain plateaus (Central Asia long before the historic period.

But this theory is open to objection. The only evidence of these Iwanian migrations lies in the structure of a number of languages. Neither tradition, nor song, nor monument, nor historical record has reserved any mention of these primæval wanderings of the first races of Iuranian men and women. Accordingly, Mr. Brace says that Professor Max Müller's hypothesis can only be accepted as a supposition. The theory ists solely upon the morphological classification of languages. The upbolders of the theory believe that this classification may be used as a test frace, inasmuch as, according to them, all those who speak isolating langrages belong to one racial stock, those who speak inflexional languages to another, those others who speak agglutinative languages to still another, adso on. The argument, however, fails when applied to the agglutinate languages, the very ones upon which the theory in question rests, the speakers of these belong to different racial stocks. If Mr. Keane's be correct, the whole theory is untenable. He says that isolating, dexional, and polysynthetic families of languages are all derived from *parate agglutinative types. "The true test of agglutination," he says, the power of the particles to become detached and shift their places the combined form . . . A vast number of languages are of this Retions order, from which all the others have emerged in diverse rections From that stage language developed according to its From that stage language developed accom-Milion as in the isolating state of the Indo-Chinese group; decomposition as in the languages of the Malayo-Polyne-

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sian group; polysynthesis as in most of the American groups; and synthesis as in the inflecting Aryan, Semitic, and Hametic groups. And if it is objected that some languages have never got beyond the agglutinating state, the answer is that some animals have never got beyond the classes of fishes or reptiles."

This theory of the evolution of speech has been objected to by the upholders of the old, but now exploded, theory of root origin. Thus Professor Sayce speaks of "the magical frontier between flexion and aggluti. nation," which can never be "cleared, since to pass from agglutination to inflexion is to revolutionise the whole system of thought and language and the basis on which it rests, and break with the past psychological history and tendencies of speech." But, as Jespersen, whom Keane quotes in support, says, "revolutions do take place in the world of languages, even if they take more time than it takes the French to change their constitutions. If a thousand years suffice to change a type of speech, like that of King Alfred into the totally different one of Queen Victoria then the much longer period which palæontologists and zoologists accord to mankind on this earth could work still greater wonders. Sayce stands with regard to these three or four types of speech in much the same attitude which naturalists kept with regard to the notion of 'species' before Darwin came."

It must, however, in justice to the late amiable Oxford Professor, be said here that no sort of blame whatsoever attaches to him for not having found out at first what others discovered when standing on his shoulders, The rapid progress of scientific investigations has necessarily antiquated most of what he postulated. But at the time of its publication it was declared by Professor Pott, the well-known authority, who subjected it to a crucial examination, to be the most important publication that had appeared on linguistic subjects for many years. More than this, Professor Max Miller himself has repeatedly—the latest instance being found in the posthumous publication, My Autobiography: a Fragment—confessed that the greater part of what he had then enunciated had become antiquated and that he was not recover it. was not responsible in 1894 for what he wrote in 1854. But the original statement had a series with the original series with the original statement had a series with the original statement had become an account of the original statement had become a series with the original statement of the original statement with the original statement of the original statement with the original statement with the original statement with the original stateme statement had done its work before the disclaimer could attain the objects with which it with which it was put forth. Perhaps, the most notable victim of this was the late Six W. was the late Sir W. Wilson Hunter. He was undoubtedly a man of strong imagination. strong imagination, and after the fashion of orators, improved upon the plain language of the D plain language of the Professor and graphically described the Dravidians as having found their masses and as having found their way into the Punjab by the north-west passes and as now inhabiting the south as now inhabiting the southern part of the three-sided tableland as far

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THE CAUCASIC ORIGIN OF THE DRAVIDIANS 509

down as Cape Comorin, the southernmost point of India. "It appears," he wrote, "as if the two streams, namely, the Kolarian tribes from the north-east and the Dravidian from the north-west, had converged and crossed each other in Central India. The Dravidians proved the stronger, broke up the Kolarians, and thrust aside their fragments east and west. The Dravidians then rushed forward in a mighty body to the south."

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The linguistic basis of the Turanian theory being thus cut off doubts began to be entertained as to the accuracy of the alleged Turanian or Mongolian physical characteristics of the Dravidians. Dr. Caldwell, whose Comparative Grammar marks an epoch in the study of human institutions, for instance, thinks that there is no difference between the heads or features of the Dravidians and those of the Brahman, and says that varieties of features or physiognomy and colour are so minute and unimportant that in the absence of any class difference in the shape of the head, they are consistent with the supposition of oneness of blood and may safely be referred to local, social, and individual causes of difference—the caste system, the prohibition of intermarriages, and the absence of common bonds of sympathy. The Dravidian type of head, he says, will even bear to be directly compared with the European. Even among the lower classes of Dravidians, the Mongolian smoothness of ace and the peculiar monotonous olive hue of the Mongolian complexion are never met with. As regards other elements of the Mongolian type, t is chiefly, if not solely, among the lower classes that they are seen, and they do not constitute the class type of any caste whatever. They are, Dr. Caldwell says. exceptional instances, which scarcely at all affect the general rule. He adds: "I have no doubt that similar exceptional astances could easily be pointed out amongst the lower classes of our On the whole, he is inclined to believe in the Caucasian physical type of the Dravidians. To prove the general correctness of his tasoning he points to the physical type of the Todas, who are so dis-Caucasic in the opinion of many persons, that they have been regarded as Celts, Romans, Jews, &c. Of all Dravidian tribes they have most thoroughly guarded by their secluded position from Brah-Danical influences. Instead of being more Mongol-like than the Arya-Dravidians, they are distinctly Caucasic. Sir George Campbell, that treatile genius, who touched nothing that he did not improve upon, is Mauch the same opinion.

The recent investigations of Messrs. Risley and Thurston have more than confirmed the doubts of Dr. Caldwell and Sir George Campbell, and searly show that no reliance can be placed on the description of the

Dravidian type given by Mr. Hodgson, a follower of the Turanian theory. He said that in the Tamilian—meaning the Dravidian, a term, by the way, brought first into use by Dr. Caldwell—form there is less height, less symmetry, more dumpiness and flesh than in the Aryan form; in the face a somewhat lozenge contour caused by the large cheek-bones; less perpendicularity in the features to the front, occasioned not so much by defect of forehead and chin as by excess of jaws and mouth; a larger proportion of face to head, and less roundness in the latter; a broader, flatter face, with features less symmetrical, but perhaps more expressive. at least of individuality; a shorter, wider nose, often clubbed at the end, and furnished with round nostrils; eyes less and less fully opened and evenly crossing the face by their line of aperture; ears larger; lips thicker; beard deficient; colour brunette, as in the Aryan type, but darker on the whole, and as in it very various. It may be at once said that this description does not in the least apply to the Dravidians, whether civilised or uncivilised, of Southern India. So flimsy seemed the foundations of this description that Dr. Caldwell did not feel the necessity to arm himself with any scientific investigation of their physical type before he dismissed it as being utterly inapplicable to the Dravidians. Many of these physical characteristics which Mr. Hodgson attributes to the Tamilians may undoubtedly be observed in the Sub-Himalayan tribes of Nepal and Assam, and in a smaller degree in the Santals and Kols. The inexpediency, remarked Dr. Caldwell, of using as a general appella tion so definite a term as Tamilian, appears from the error into which Mr. Hodgson has fallen of attributing the same or similar physical characteristics to the Dravidians or Tamilians of Southern India, as to his northern "Tamilian" tribes, though they differ from these almost as much as do the Brahmans themselves. On the whole, it seems that Mr. Hodgson and others of his school, persuaded by similarities in lingual characteristics in the so-called Turanian group of languages, were led to believe in a similarity of physical type among the different members of that group. That Dr. Caldwell was more than justified in his remarks has been proved by the recent ethnological investigations of Messis, Risley and Thurston, whose description of the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in according to the control of the description of the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in according to the control of the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in according to the control of the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in according to the control of the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in according to the province of the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in the province of the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in the province of the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in the Dravidian type is entirely at vocional type in the Dravidian type is entirely at the Dravidian type in the Dravidian type is entirely at the Dravidian type in the Dravidian type is entirely at the Dravidian type in the Dravidian type is entirely at the Dravidian type in the Dravidian type is entirely at the Dravidian type is en is entirely at variance with that of Mr. Hodgson; being more in accord with the Caucasian with with the Caucasian rather than with the Turanian or Mongolian physical type. type.

But though opinion is slowly converging to a point as to the Dravidian's Caucasic physical type, yet hitherto no satisfactory explanation has been offered for it. This is because all those who believe in the Caucasic

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THE CAUCASIC ORIGIN OF THE DRAVIDIANS

hysical type of the Dravidians are also believers in their having reached their present abodes through the north-west passes of India. If so, do the Dravidians represent an earlier draft of the Caucasic section of the Hominidæ that found its way into India before the Aryan advent there, through the north-west passes of India? Nobody has ever suggested maffirmative answer to this question, and the belief of Dr. Caldwell, Sir George Campbell and others who put faith in the Caucasic physical type of the Dravidians and yet maintain that they reached India by the northrest passes, is capable of only one explanation, and that is that it is a surgival of the old Turanian theory. For the fact seems to be that the Caucasic human type, having evolved itself in the northern regions of Africa, successively spread itself over Northern Africa, Southern India, and Australia, through the then existing Indo-African-Austral continent, outhwards to Iberia and thence to Western and Central Europe. The first nigrating groups seem to have been of a low type, and to one of these must be traced, through the then existing Indo-African continent, the peopling of Southern India by a melanochroid Caucasian type during the ate pliocene and early pleistocene times from the east or the south, in all probability from the south. That such was the case is proved not only by the fact that the Dravidian now presents a melanochroid Caucasic physical type, but also by the fact that the Australians retain certain Caucasian physical characteristics which could only be explained by a nigration of Indian melanochroid Caucasians into Australia, when the Indo-African-Austral continent existed and Australia was accessible on be north and north-west sides to migrations both from India and Papua-Leading ethnologists are strongly of opinion that there is a marked temblance between the physical type of the Dravidians and that of the dustralians. Haeckel says that the Dravidian race shows traits of relationhip with the Australians. Drs. Flower and Lydekker bring under Sucasian melanochroid the Dravidians and Veddahs of Ceylon, and in gard to Australia say that it may have been "originally peopled with haired Melanesians, but a strong infusion of some other race, hobably a low form of Caucasian melanochroid, such as that which still ahabits the interior of the southern parts of India, has spread throughthe land from north-west and produced a modification of the physical haracters, especially of the hair." Mr. Crooke says that the Dravidians the sent an emigration from the African continent; and Prof. Semon that "the features of the Australians, with all their ugliness and the features of the Australians, with all the Quatre-tes recognitions of the Caucasian features. De Quatreges recognises the existence of Caucasian, Negro, and Mongol elements

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in Australia; and lastly, Giglioli goes so far as to speak of an Aryan element in Australia.

Mr. Keane is not only impressed with the Caucasic physical type of the Dravidians but he has, unlike the above authorities, also suggested an explanation for the same. He holds that the Dravidian has become assimilated to the Caucasic type just as he has adopted the Aryan culture while retaining the predominance of his languages intact. It would be interesting to know the manner of this assimilation. On this point, however, Mr. Keane is silent. If he thinks that this assimilation is due to intercrossings it seems to me that he is far from being correct. For except in Malabar, there is absolutely no evidence of it. The Brahmans are famous for the purity of their blood-in fact ethnic non-fusion has been the greatest obstacle to the growth of the spirit of nationality under the most favourable conditions in India. The latter position has, despite the prevailing unanimity of opinion in regard to it, been assailed by Mr. H. A. Stuart, the late Census Superintendent for Madras. He holds that there are daily additions from the lower castes to the Brahman caste. There may be, and doubtless there are, cases of degradation, but cases of caste promotion to Brahman rank there have been none. As a recent anthropologist writing of Malabar observes, "there were forcible means used in those days (so late as 1800, when it may safely be presumed that the Aryan and non-Aryan had continued to live on peaceable terms with each other for several centuries) for preventing intermixture of the people of the higher and lower castes." If this is so in Malabar, what should we say of other parts of India? If, however, Mr. Keane means that the Caucasian type has been acquired by the Dravidian by his long. continued living with the Aryan in close proximity, then our belief that physical characteristics (and pre-eminently the shape of the skull) are the best tests of race, is rudely shaken. Thus it would appear that the Caucasian physical type of the Dravidian has deeper foundations than has hitherto been thought to be the case, and any explanation that does not take adequate notice of it is certain not to be satisfactory.

That an Indian Caucasian element emigrated in early times to Australia is further proved by the fact that the Dravidians and Australians are affiliated by deeply-marked characteristics in their social system, as shown by the boomerang, which, unless locally evolved, and this highly improbable in the opinion of competent authorities, must have been introduced by the Indian Caucasian element. We must, however, be careful that this phrase "social system" does not mislead us. Dr. Topinard, for instance, refers in this connection to "some remnants of caste

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THE CAUCASIC ORIGIN OF THE DRAVIDIANS

in Australia," and remarks that they "help to support the opinion" that the Dravidians and Australians are racially connected with each other. It is difficult to make out what Dr. Topinard means by this statement. If it is seriously contended that the Dravidians and Australians are aking them, then because of the existence of the caste system amongst both of them, then it is best to state at once that such a contention as that is not well founded. The migrations refer to prehistoric times. The caste system has certainly an ethnic basis and was one of the results of the contact of the Dravidians with the Aryans in India. There is historical evidence to prove that it was unknown to the Dravidians anterior to Aryan advent. Its first beginnings are to be seen about the second century before Christ, and it had not taken permanent root in Southern India, at any rate, until the rise of the religious reformers, Sankara and Ramanuja, during the eighth and eleventh centuries after Christ.

Likewise, we must guard ourselves against incidental or supposed similarities in language being used as an argument to prove the ethnical relationship of the Dravidians with the Australians. While Drs. Topinard and Caldwell, for example, say that the characters which the Dravidian and Australian languages have in common tend to assimilate them, Dr. DeQuatrefages regarded his now exploded theory of the Negro migration from India to Australia as proved by the affinity of the Australian and Dravidian languages. As Mr. Keane observes, this is one of those reckless assumptions which have brought philology into disrepute with all anthropologists, but respecting which it must suffice here to state that no sound ethnologist has ever affiliated the Australian to the Dravidian linguistic family. It has been pointed out by M. Hovelacque hat "the numerous Australian idioms seem all related to each other, but affinity with any other linguistic family," and that "the Dravidan tongues may safely be regarded as an independent group, related to 10 other linguistic family."

Again, zoology, geology and botany are all at one in declaring that South India was in early times peopled from the south and not by the Botth-west passes of India. Peschel suggested that the primæval home of man was a continent now sunk below the surface of the Indian Ocean, which extended along the south of Asia, as it is at present, towards the tast as far as Further India and the Sunda Islands. To this hypothetical continent he gave the name of Lemuria, from the mammals of that name were characteristic of it. Though the Lemurian hypothesis, as at bas been rightly rejected by Dr. Wallace, yet his categorical denial of an

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Indo-African-Austral continent in pretertiary times has not been accepted It has been pointed out by Mr. Blanford that he has not fully stated the facts, and that the actual distribution of certain genera of birds, fishes, reptiles, and land mollusca is strongly suggestive of dry land having formerly extended from Southern India to Madagascar. This view has been confirmed by the investigations of the Indian Geological Survey, Mr. Oldham says that at the close of the jurassic period the land connec. tion with Africa was still maintained, as also in the cretaceous period, the close of which witnessed the great outburst of volcanic activity which buried the whole of Western India deep in lava and ashes, contemporaneously with the great series of earth movements which resulted in the elevation of the Himalayas and the extra-peninsular ranges generally. In the tertiary era we find no further evidence of land connection with Africa; at an early period the west coast was approximately in its present position, and it is probable that at the close of the cretaceous or commencement of the eocene period the great Indo-African continent was finally broken, and all but the remnants in India and South Africa sunk finally beneath the sea. By way of confirmation it may be pointed out that even as late as the second century B. C., the sea on the south-west coast of Ceylon encroached upon what was formerly land. This is clear from the national histories of Ceylon and from the writings of certain South Indian Tamil poets.

Finally, attention may be drawn to the present situation of the Dravidian tribes which favours the view that South India was in early times peopled from the south and not by the north-west passes of India. While most of them are in the south, a few are in East Central India, and

only one is in the extreme north-west.

Thus the occupation of South India by a Caucasian section of the Hominidæ prior to the Indo-Aryan advent seems not improbable. If not, how are we to explain the Caucasian physical type of the Dravidians and of the Australians, whose geographical situation precluded the access of that type to their insular habitat, otherwise than through India?

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Indore Law,

THE INDORE PENAL CODE.

THE purpose of this article is to give a brief summary of the Criminal Law of Indore with such comments as I deem both necessary and expedient to make.

Indore is one of those Protected Native States in India, which has retained the absolute, ancient and prerogative right of making and promulgating its own laws and of dispensing justice to all its subjects. Though this privilege had been exercised for ages and further guaranteed by the British Government, it is strange to note that until the year 1880 no attempt had ever been made to codify the Criminal Laws in force. Justice in those days was administered in accordance with the principles of Hindu Law and usages promiscuously scattered about in countless books and commentaries by holy sages. Such a system of triminal administration was naturally fraught with grave inconvenience and dangers, and so in 1288 Fusli (1880 A. D.) the first attempt was made to reduce order out of chaos by means of codification. The labours of the Indore Legislature were not altogether lost, and accordingly Act II of 1288 Fusli was passed, presumably called the Indore Penal Code, with the advice and sanction of His Highness Shreemunth Maharaja Dhiraj Raj Rajeswar Savai Tukojee Rao Holkar Bahadur.

The Indore Penal Code may be rightly described as a mutilated edition of the Indian Penal Code. The chapters on General Explanations, nature and definitions of offences and General Exceptions are nothing but an exact reproduction of the Indian Penal Code. This being so, it will be mere waste of time to make any observations on what the Code actually contains. It will, however, be useful and interesting to mention some of the principal defects of the Indore Penal Code and to note some of the points of difference existing between it and its feeder or model.

The Preamble recites (1) the expediency to provide a penal code for Indore, (2) that the principles embodied in the Code are based on Hindu Law, and (3) that the Act has received the sanction of the then reigning

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Maharaja. It does not end here. It goes on reciting some of the elementary principles of Criminal Law from the Code of Manu, which are absolutely of no practical importance whatever in these enlightened times.

Before proceeding to comment upon the defects in the plan and arrangement of the Code, it will be desirable to consider some of its more striking omissions. In the first place, the Indore Criminal Law bears no distinctive name or title sanctioned by authority, but merely the words "The Indore Penal Code," written in large characters at the head of the Act. Secondly, the precise extent of its operation and the time from which it shall take effect are nowhere specifically mentioned. The Indore Penal Code doubtless applies to all Indore subjects of His Highness the Maharaja, but this can only be inferred. The law relating to extradition or the procedure respecting the arrest and trial of British subjects committing offences within Holkar's territories, and Holkar's subjects guilty of offences committed on British soil, ought to be expressly laid down and defined in unambiguous language. The deliberate omission of such contingencies together with the express definition in section 7 of the word public as including "any class of the public or any community" will lead to the inevitable conclusion that a British subject guilty of an offence against a Native subject is amenable to the jurisdiction of the Holkar Courts also, but I doubt very much whether such a course had even been contemplated by the local Legislature.

It has already been stated that the Indore Penal Code is precisely the same in substance and in form as the Indian Penal Code, but it may be mentioned that the Local Code makes a few departures from the British Enactment in the arrangement of its contents and certain other matters of less or of no practical importance whatever. Chapter I. deals with General Explanations; Chapter II. with definitions of offences; Chapter III. Chapter IV. with the classes and modes of punishment; with General Exceptions and Chapters V.—XXI. with specific punishments for specific offences. It is a difficult thing to understand why the punishments do not directly follow the definitions of each particular offence. For example, assault is defined in section 51 and its punishment is prescribed for in section 194 of the Code, and this mode of dealing with each particular offence throughout the Act is at once cumbersome and inconvenient, to say the least.

The Indore Penal Code is not only not methodical in its arrangement but also imperfect in so far as it omits to make mention of several grave offences of frequent occurrence, and which it would be expedient of

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ement grave nt or necessary for the Government to repress. "Exciting feelings of disaffection" to the Indore Government or to the Government of India and offences relating to the Holkar Army are a few of such instances.

There are also certain offences which though elaborately worded, are absolutely inadequate to meet the requirements of each particular case. The Indore Penal Code gauges the heinousness or otherwise of the offence of theft with reference only to the value of the property stolen, and does not seem to take in the smallest account the nature of the place where the theft occurred or whether the thief stood in the relation of an absolute stranger, clerk or servant to the prosecutor.

The degree of punishment is still more perplexing and uncertain. The periods of imprisonment are as a general rule prescribed without the slightest reference to the enormity or otherwise of the crime itself and whipping is indiscriminately inflicted without the guidance of any fixed rule or principle. Every one knows that an "assault" is a less serious act than the causing of "simple hurt," but the punishment prescribed by the *Indore Penal Code* for the former is seven years while the latter offence is only visited by the comparatively nominal punishment of three months' imprisonment of either description.

Breaking into the Royal Treasury or Arsenal is specifically mentioned and the punishment for it is unique. Section 241 runs thus:—"Whoever commits house-breaking by breaking into a Royal Treasury or Arsenal shall be punished with fine and rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to 14 years and whipping with or without transportation for life."

The offences by or relating to Hindu women are extremely stringent. "Kidnapping from lawful guardianship" according to the Code may be committed in respect of a female who is a major, so that if A takes B, a lindu widow of 40, even with her consent,out of the keeping of her law
guardian for any purpose, A may be prosecuted and punished for it. In this particular the Local Code treats Hindu women as possessing no will of their own.

The chapter on offences relating to marriage is in many material laticulars different to that of the *Indian Penal Code*, and it will be laticed woman is also criminally liable for adultery under section 252 of a strong will.

The interest and honour of widows are most carefully looked after special provisions are made to punish unchaste ones and their

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seducers. Section 252, for instance, also punishes a widow for adultery in the sense in which the Code defines it, and a man taking or enticing away a widow for an immoral purpose is also criminally liable to be prosecuted under section 253.

The restitution of conjugal rights of a husband or wife may also be made the subject of a criminal indictment, and the punishment for it which is somewhat of a novel character, is "imprisonment in the house of the complainant until the offender agrees to restitute such rights or until their marriage is dissolved." Cohabiting, drinking, eating or smoking against the law or rules of one's caste or religion is made penal, but offences of this kind have now become almost obsolete. I will not take upon myself the risk of suggesting any reform in the existing law relating more particularly to married women and widows, and if amendment is thought expedient, it can only be accomplished by first of all consulting the opinions and sentiments of those who are or who will be directly affected by it.

Again, some of the sections of the *Indore Penal Code* are couched in hopelessly ambiguous language and are very misleading. To instance a case, section 261 runs thus:—"Whoever in a state of intoxication appears in any public place or in any place which it is a trespass in him to enter shall be punished etc.," and so if A in a state of intoxication goes a public meeting, he will render himself liable to punishment under

the section even though he may conduct himself with the utmost decorum.

It is or ought to be the universal maxim of law that there can be no conviction on a criminal charge unless the prisoner has a "mens rea" or guilty mind. The Indore Penal Code does not bring this guilty intention forcibly out when dealing with and defining some of the offences therein enumerated.

The Indore Penal Code does not give any explanation or even a suggestion as to the difference between a summons and a warrant case, and what is still more perplexing is that a summons case is bailable, by which it is presumed that a warrant may be issued in all summons cases also. The Indian Criminal Procedure Code defines a warrant case as a case relating to an offence punishable with death, transportation of imprisonment for a term exceeding six months and a summons case as imprisonment for a term exceeding six months and a summons case as in a case relating to an offence and not being a warrant case. The Indore Penal Code is not so explicit but vaguely defines thus:—"A summons case is an offence for which a summons shall ordinarily issue in the first instance" and "a warrant case is an offence for which a warrant may ordinarily issue in the first instance."

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THE INDORE PENAL CODE

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There is yet another novelty which the *Indore Penal Code* introduces. It makes offences prosecuteable within a certain specified period. In other words, there is a Criminal Law of Limitation in Indore, which fixes a time at the expiration of which a right of action, not already prosecuted, becomes extinguished. For example, a criminal complaint of "hurt" must be instituted within 30 days from the date of the offence, and so on with a large majority of the other offences.

Such is a brief account of the nature and characteristics of the Indore Penal Code. I have only endeavoured to point out a few of its defects and discrepancies but leave the question of amendment to the controlling hand of the authorities concerned. The laws of every civilised country or Government must be simple, plain and precise; free from doubts and obscurities, easily intelligible and readily accessible to every citizen. The Indore Penal Code has never been amended in any way since it first saw the light of day. The importance, and indeed the absolute necessity, of having a simple and comprehensive Criminal Code in Indore can hardly be exaggerated. The Council of Regency, with its able and energetic president, will, it is hoped, in the near future inquire into and supply the defects of not only the Criminal Law, but also the other local laws in force, and endeavour to set everything on secure foundations.

ALEXANDER J. BALM.

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A VISIT TO THE VENERABLE DEVENDRA NATH TAGORE.

CCOMPANIED by the talented grandson of this eminent reformer I went upstairs, and without being previously announced, entered the room and stood in his presence.

He had just finished his simple meal, and sat in a high arm-chair. His attenuated figure was clad in white flowing robes of purely Indian A high forehead, with a broad central dome, giving a larger breadth to the higher brain than to its base, seemed a fit tabernacle for a great mind, and a proper vehicle for the manifestation of higher intellectual and spiritual forces.

Our homage paid, we sat down beside him, and when my friend told him I hailed from the Punjab, his mind travelled back to the days when he had visited Amritsar, where, in the Golden Temple of the Sikhs-as he told me-he had heard that beautiful Arati* of Guru Nanak, which sings :-

"Thy Sky itself Thy salver; The Sun and Moon Thy lamps;

The starry host Thy pearls.

The fragrant breeze of Malaya mountains Thy incense.

The wind herself waving her chawri o'er Thee.

All forest vegetation as Thy flower-offerings, O Light.

What other evensong can equal this, O Destroyer of Fear,

Which rolls forth from the drum notes of Anahat.†"

He recited the above in the original words of Nanak; he uttered them with such deep and effective intonation as I had seldom heard

† Anahat, the mystic sound which the Yogi hears within himself and in the Cosmos without.

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^{*} Arati, the evensong used in Hindu temples, accompanied by waving of lights in 3 er, and offering of flowers, etc. salver, and offering of flowers, etc.

A VISIT TO DEVENDRA NATH TAGORE

His mind seemed to be in touch with the spirit of the author and alive with that sense of infinite power which found expression brough his words. And then he told me how the hymns of this sage found a response in his own heart. And why not? A soul which had bathed in the peaceful waters of the ancient Upanishads, whose ips had clung to the Sufi mystic bowl of Hafiz, the nightingale of Shiraz, and in whom the fire-light of love and knowledge had melted the walls which stand between man and man, creed and creed, could not but vibrate in harmony with the music of that great voice which, in the reign of Baber, sounded in the Punjab and elsewhere the note of

Unity and Truth, of love for God and justice for man. Fearing to strain the frail body which his spirit had used to higher eds with power in former days, I refrained from many questions and ht him speak at his ease the little he felt inclined to speak. At frequent ntervals he relapsed into silence and peaceful repose in which he now thiefly passes his days.

One question at last rose to my lips-" India and her good?" "Let her find Unity," he said, and was again silent. We rose in reverence and departed, and as I descended the steps of the old palatial family tesidence where, in earlier times, and in the company of his family and friends, he had worshipped the Secondless Reality, and to which he has returned of late to sanctify it with the influence of his last days, I could but feel the self-dependence of spiritual life, and the significance of silence and retirement of the Great Immortals into whose subliminal leservoirs of individual consciousness pour the streams of Life and Love om the Heart of Infinite Peace; and if, perchance, the time has gone when they could flow out to men in audible words or visible deeds, they none the less, diffusing on higher levels beyond human ken, mingle their sweet waters with the bitter and turgid flood of human hates, and telp to neutralise the poison of selfishness in the world.

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

The Economic Policy
of the British
Government.

If we had a "Dictionary of National Biography" in India, and if we could make an analysis of it, as writers like Mr. Havelock Ellis have made in England, we should have some interesting and demonstrated conclusions

regarding the habitat of genius in this country. In the absence of a biographical dictionary to refute the invidious statement, one may venture to assert that the most fertile plot for the growth of literary genius in India is the lower valley of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. It must be left to Science to discover the mystic bond between the abundance of aqueous fluid and the copiousness of literary harvest in the land of Dutts and Roys. Students of Indian Economics may be able to trace the absence of literary famine, as they do that of grain-famines, to the Permanent Settlement. The fact, however, admits of no doubt that in literary output Bengal takes the lead; and there is no living Bengali whose works are more popular throughout India than those of Mr. Romesh Dutt. At an age when most Indian public servants, having retired, would be forgotten by their comtrymen, or remembered by a small circle of pious friends and priests, Mr. Romesh—who was born in 1848 and who retired in 1897 threads his way patiently through dust-covered records and musty blue-books and publishes a voluminous history of the economic development and publishes a voluminous history of the economic specific blue-books and publishes a voluminous history of the economic development. development and vicissitudes of his native land under the British Undoubtedly he is sustained in this labour by the faith that is in him—the faith that the history which he narrates has not been one of fair 1. not been one of fair-dealing and of conditions which make for progress and prosperity. gress and prosperity. Hence in many places his paragraphs read more like an indictment of more like an indictment than as a history; and one may fairly be

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Dutt, C.

surprised to read in a book professing to be an Economic History * an impeachment of Lord George Hamilton's régime in the following words: "The liberty of the press was restricted. Representative institutions were repressed. The admission of educated Indians into the higher services in their own country was steadily narrowed for the benefit of English boys seeking a career in the East. Never within the preceding thirty-seven years of the Government of India under the Crown had the country suffered from greater calamities, and never had the administration been more barren of sympathetic and remedial measures, more fruitful of coercive and repressive measures." But declamation of this kind does not in any way detract from the eloquence or instruction of the facts and opinions which fill more than six hundred pages.

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Unhappy is the nation that hath no history—none that records its passage from the rule of arbitrary will to law, from poverty to opulence, from unrighteousness to righteousness. The history of the economic aspect of British rule in India, which Mr. Dutt unfolds, is the history of an endeavour to promote the material well-being of the people of India and of a struggle to reconcile the interests of the rulers with those of the ruled. As in other countries, so also here, that struggle was influenced by the previous history of the people and by contemporary thought elsewhere. Mr. Dutt has much to say about the high rate of land assessment demanded by the Government at one time and of the iniquities of Settlement Officers. But to these accounts without reference to the heritage of the past and the level of contemporary ideals of national duty in the home of the rulers would be to betray a lack of the historic sense. We are apt to think that high assessments had their origin in the greed of British officials: these cannot be entirely exculpated from blame, but their contemporaries did not judge them quite so harshly. More than fifty years ago, when the settlement operations of Wingate and Goldsmid were in progress in this presidency, Professor H. Green, of the Poona College, wrote in a Bombay journal that there were two theories even in his time—after Pringle's settlement had alled—about the true revenue policy to be followed by Government. According to the theory of Political Economists and of European

Dutt, C. I. E., 1904. Victorian Age: An Economic History of the People—By Romesh

thinkers and writers generally, wrote he, "the moderate assessment is necessary to enable the cultivator to accumulate agricultural capital, and the fixed tenure to induce him to do so. The other we shall take the liberty to call the Native theory, although it is held also by many of our own civilians—by those, namely, upon whom the lessons of Malthus and of Jones at Haileybury have made less impression than the suggestions either of the Dufterdars and Mam. lutdars of their respective Zillahs, or of the Native Chiefs or Enam. dars with whom they have been brought into contact. It was well summed up for us long ago by a very excellent man—a civilian too. 'You know,' said he, 'the most intelligent Natives always tell you that the only way to make the Kunbi industrious is to screw him up with a good high assessment—that the lower you fix his assessment, the less he works." Why did the official listen to the promptings of the Dufterdar more readily than to the teachings of the political economist? Because politically it was convenient, and morally it did not conflict with his environment. Even now there are Europeans-and we dare say Natives too, representatives of the old Dufterdars and Enamdars—who believe that a lower assessment will not make the Kunbi more wealthy, that it will make him only less industrious. But these pessimists are very few. With the spread of higher education and of the doctrines of political economy among the classes who rule public opinion and who provide Dufterdars and Mamlatdars to the public service, we have ceased to regard the Kunbi as a semi-human animal who will work only under the crack of the whip. In the earlier days of British rule, torture was resorted to as a means of recovering revenue—a heritage of the past. If the vice makes its appearance anywhere occasionally in the twentieth across the same of the same anywhere occasionally in the twentieth across the same of the tieth century, it does so like infanticide or sati, as a freak of atavism. When the Kunbi is educated, his self-respect will contribute to keep the official conscience still more straight. If torture and the wretchedness of the chedness of the peasantry appealed to the more humane among the officials, the practical difficulties of fixing and recovering a high and variable assessment variable assessment were noticed by the level-headed amongst them.

Mr. (afterwards Six Control of the system) Mr. (afterwar ds Sir George) Campbell wrote of the Madras system of land-revenue. of land-revenue collection in 1852 as follows: "Would any farmer ever admit that his farmer had ever admit that his farm had yielded anything, that his cattle had produced or that his middle anything that his cattle had produced, or that his wife had not produced? If the Collector were

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of the prophets and remained in the district to the age of Vathuselah, he would not be fit for the duty; and as he is but an winary man and a foreigner, and constantly changed, it would be strange if the Native subordinates could not do as they liked, and aving the power, did not abuse it. Accordingly, it is generally greed that the abuses of the whole system, and especially that of remissions, is something frightful; chicanery and intrigue of all kinds are unbounded; while the reliance of the Madras Collector on normers by no means mends matters." The evil was plain: to the official mind there was only one evil that was plainer, that of not having the money to carry on the Government with. The Native subordinates have improved; the spirit of English literature has argely changed the mo ral atmosphere of the official world; the multiplication of laws and standing orders has restricted the liberty of the erratic Dufterdars, and taught the cultivator a faint notion of his rights. The plainer evil remains, and Finance Ministers and Budget-makers continue to ask how a progressive Government is to be carried on if the lid is closed tight on one of the principal sources of revenue. At one time there was a still more impressive contingency present to the minds of the more imaginative among the ruling class—an agrarian rising. If Sir Charles Wood had been Secretary of State in 1882, instead of 1862, when the memory of the Great Mutiny was still so fresh, he would most probably not have Penned his famous Despatch, in which, having prescribed Permanent Settlement as an ideal policy to be followed, he put the brake upon the wheels of the new policy by leaving it to be determined "how far any particular district is in a condition to warrant the application of the measure at the present time." The particular application being left in the hands of the local officials, the Secretary of State ery soon realised that his general rule was melting away on the Paper on which he had precipitated it. In 1867 Sir Stafford Northto tried to formulate and limit the exceptions to the general lecommendation, and he laid down that (1) no estate shall be permanently settled in which the actual cultivation amounts to less than per cent. of the cultivable area; and (2) no permanent settlement shall be concluded for any estate to which canal irrigation is, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, likely to be extended within the next 20 years, and existing assets of which would thereby

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be increased in the proportion of 20 per cent. The exceptions to a rule have always a knack of multiplying. Once the inexpediency of committing the Government to a final and irrevocable promise is realised, the attempt to restrict the factors of variability becomes tentative and futile. Canals suggest railways; increased production suggests increased prices; the ready access to the markets of the world suggests the displacement of one crop by another. Who can divine how the unearned increment will be affected by the resources of science and civilisation? The rapid development of science in the latter half of the nineteenth century, which revolutionised the means of communication, which made the field more fertile and the market more sensitive, which widened the horizon of expectation and made prophecy a folly, did more to give the quietus to the idea of a Permanent Settlement than even the unwillingness of the rulers to sacrifice any portion of the revenue which they definitely knew could be realised. Cornwallis did not dream of railways and steamers, nor could he have fully realised the destiny of the British Raj, as it shaped itself during the succeeding century, br inging with it fresh responsibilities for the Raj, increasing the demand upon its resources. In 1883, during a Vicerovalty unclouded by any measures of repression, when the good of the people was the one unalloyed ambition of high-minded statesmanship, the Secretary of State pronounced the final doom: "I concur with Your Excellency's Government that the policy laid down in 1862 should now be formally abandoned." The practice of Settlement operations differs in different provinces, and the discretion exercised by the revenue officers cannot be expected to give satisfaction in all cases. The classification of lands sometimes happens to be wrong, the crop experiments misleading; uncultivated land is included in the rental as cultivable land, and instalments of Government demand are not judiciously fixed. No remedy has yet been found to correct the errors of judgment on the part of revenue officers, and it is well known that Mr. Dutt has repeatedly asked for the interference of indicial tribunals to judicial tribunals to settle the disputes between the ryot and the revenue officer. revenue officer. This question leads us from history proper to reform in the future.

If the struggle to adjust the relations arising from land between the Government and ryot equitably has not ended satisfactorily to

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other, the conflict of interests in trade and manufactures between ns to a iency of mise is ecomes duction of the Vho can esources e in the means market l made ea of a ilers to knew ys and British g with on its any ne one ary of lency's w be differs evenue The crop

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the people of Great Britain and India has been even more marked. t is ancient history how the textile industry of this country was by Great Britain by an unfair fiscal policy when the East India Company was as yet a trading corporation. When the Comnany ceased to be a commercial body, it became sufficiently alive to is interests in its new capacity to petition Parliament in 1840 for the removal of the invidious duties which discouraged and repressed The witnesses that gave evidence before the Indian industries. Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to report on that petition were not all as plain-spoken as Mr. Cope, a silk-weaver Macclesfield, but he expressed the views of the mercantile party with admirable candour when he said: "I certainly pity the East Indian labourer, but at the same time I have a greater feeling for my own family than for the East Indian labourer's family; I think it is wrong to sacrifice the comforts of my family for the sake of the East Indian labourer, because his condition happens to be worse than mine; and I think it is not good legislation to take away our labour and to give it to the East Indian because his condition is worse than ours." This was not in itself an uncharitable view: the uncharitableness was not on Mr. Cope's part, but on the part of those who were responsible for the well-being of the Indian people, if the same prinaple of self-preservation was not affirmed for the benefit of the Indian weaver. The ideal of an Empire with Great Britain as a manufacluring centre and the colonies and dependencies as producers of raw material is not of Mr. Chamberlain's creation. The dream of a selfsufficient Empire was cherished about the middle of the last century, when a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed, 1848, to report on the prospects of cotton-growing in India; and Mr. Thomas Bazley, President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, said: "In India there is an immense extent of territory and population of it would consume British manufactures to a most thormous extent. The whole question with respect to our Indian hade is whether they can pay us by the products of their soil for what we are prepared to send out as manufactures." The poweroom industry which has since sprung up in India has aroused the talousy of Lancashire, but it has not been able to do any further than to secure the imposition of an excise duty on Indian

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manufactures in the name of free trade. The mill-owners do not take quite so pessimistic a view of the effect of the duty on their industry as Mr. Dutt does. His figures support him in the conclusion that "new mills are struggling into existence," which is not quite the same kind of misfortune as old mills struggling for existence. Yet in principle the tax, as one imposed at the instance of rival manufacturers and not by the Government of its own motion, is unjust. A greater injury to Indian finance, and hence to the peo. ple who have to replenish the exchequer in other ways, traceable to Lancashire's desire to take advantage of the Indian market to the utmost extent possible, is the low duty—the lowest in the Empirewhich the Government is permitted to levy on British goods. That the cheap cottons and other articles are a blessing to the poor people-and in India the rich are very few-does not admit of the slightest doubt. But whether it would not be a greater blessing to have a lighter tax on land or on salt is a question which the Indian Government would have seriously considered, especially in view of the recent agarian misfortunes, if it had been at liberty to turn to the import trade for enhancing its revenue. As its liberty is circumscribed, it is afraid even to launch upon an enquiry, such as the · Famine Union suggested, as to why a single unfavourable season drives thousands of peasants to the relief works. "Commerce," says Mr. Dutt very truly, "even when carried on by foreign capital and foreign merchants, is beneficial to a country. It brings in articles cheaper than the country can produce. And it also brings a higher price for the home produce than can be obtained at home. In both these ways commerce is beneficial, even though the profits of trade go to other lands. But in India even this benefit is restricted because her foreign trade is forced, not natural." In other words, the ryot sells his produce, not to buy Lancashire cloth, not to save for the rainless day, but to pay the assessment, 17 millions of which make up the annual "tribute" to Great Britain. This is not a new phrase invented by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji or Mr. Digby: in 1847, Mr. N. Alexander, an East Indian merchant, giving evidence before a Select Committee of the difference Select Committee of the House of Commons, said that the difference between the important the difference of the House of Commons, said that the difference of the important between the imports and exports of India formed the "tribute" A which the East Indian Company received from the country. A distinguished public servant, now retired, has recently told the

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manufacturers of Lancashire that a reduction of the land tax in India would be to their interest inasmuch as the ryot would be able to buy more of their goods if he had to pay less of assessment!

Mr. Dutt's earlier volume, bringing down the "Economic History of British India" to the commencement of the Victorian era, was described as a "record of agriculture and land settlements, trade and manufacturing industries, finance and administration." His present volume is similar in scope: it deals more with the economic policy of the Government than with the economic condition of the Thus there are several important branches of economic history which are omitted in the present volume, such as the average income of the people, hoarded wealth, prices and wages, capital and labour, credit and credit-organisation, etc., which, though not treated historically, are discussed in the works of other writers of the same school, including Mr. D. Naoroji, Mr. Digby and Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer.* A detailed economic history of the people of every province of India would be a gigantic task, which must be undertaken by a number of writers specially acquainted each with his province; and its value would be enhanced by its dissociation from political bias-Mr. Dutt, who is not merely a politician but also a scholar, has set an example which is sure to be followed in coming years, as the love of research, without which political talk would be the babbling of shallow streams, spreads among the younger generations, and the study of Indian economics is undertaken more seriously and with a keener appreciation of historic truth than it seems to be at present. The one conclusion about the economic condition of the people, as affected by the policy of the Government, on which Mr. Dutt lays most stress, is that a permanent settlement of the land revenue improves the staying power of the peasantry, and this deduction is drawn from the condition of the cultivators in Bengal. torical investigation this conclusion cannot be taken as established without considering the state of the peasantry in permanently settled tracts outside of Bengal. The lowest annual rainfall in the provinces under the Bengal Government is in the central and southern portions of Ril of Bihar, where it exceeds 41 inches—a dispensation which many parts of India would envy. The "Delta of Bengal," with its mean

Some Economic Aspects of British Rule in India, by G. Subrahmanya Aiyer, 1903,

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annual rainfall of 79'4 inches, stands fourth among the twenty circles into which India has been divided on meteorological grounds, the first three being Burma Coast, Brahmaputra Valley and West Coast, The quality of the soil and the classes of crops cultivated have also to be taken into consideration. Gujarat is known to be one of the most heavily taxed parts of India. According to the data collected by the Meteorological Department, it may expect four years of severe drought and six dry years in a period of 50 years; famine visited it recently, but it is not a famine-haunted region. There is no doubt, as Col. Baird Smith said thirty years ago, that "given the drought and its consequences, the capacity of the people to resist their destructive influence is in direct proportion to the perfection of the settlement system under which they are living and growing." It is easy to imagine, however, a permanent arrangement leaving very little in the hands of the peasantry, and a temporary settlement leaving them richer. It is the pitch, rather than the duration, of the assessment that makes or mars the prosperity of the cultivator; and though the half-rental rule is now considered to be settled to the end of time, the exposure by Mr. Dutt and others of the inevitable encroachments upon this rule may, let us hope, result in a reduction of that rate for the benefit of our posterity.

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CURRENT EVENTS.

LORD CURZON has left India, the scene of his five years' active and energetic rule, and during the next few months there will be a lull in the political atmosphere of the country which his locum tenens will find it hard to enliven, unless the Tibetans give him an opportunity to do so. That Lord Curzon goes to England to enjoy his wellearned rest is only an accident: if he had gone to Australia one would not have thought that his departure should be made an occasion for appreciative demonstration. Yet some significance cannot but be attached to the somewhat severe isolation in which he Passed through the Gate of India. An Imperialist of his courage of conviction and boldness of utterance would not have felt his tympanum scandalised by the absence of street applause, or his visual apparatus affected by the sight of the quadrupeds, instead of bipeds, that dragged his carriage. He does not care for "cheap applause," but for all that the attitude of the people towards a Viceroy whom His Majesty's Government have singled out for special mark of approbation cannot be viewed from a personal standpoint. In ability and application to work Lord Curzon towers above most Viceroys that have come to India. If recently he has been more admired than adulated, the reason must at least partly be sought for in the humours of public opinion in India. His late Private Secretary has told the British public that the people of India are inscrutable, but that one of their characteristics is the worship of force. This may be true of the ignorant masses: it is more or less true all over the World, and must be especially true in a country which has always been governed by despots and never known a rule broad-based on the people's will. The educated classes, however, have outgrown the stage of worshipping force. It is not a racial characteristic like the broad skull, the flat nose, the high cheek-bone or the dark skin. One year of English literature wipes out a century of acquired forceworship, and the Englishman who thinks that he can impress the educated imagination by a display of force and power will soon realise that he has miscalculated. Lord Curzon's reputed Imperialism, so very suggestive of power rather than of sympathy, is partly responsible for his failure to touch the heart while capturing the head of the educated classes. The more enduring part of a ruler's work, however, is that which appeals to the head. It is on such work that the stability of any Government is founded, sentiment, though its power is sometimes great, producing waves only on the surface. It is for the more enduring elements in Lord Curzon's work that history will remember his Viceroyalty, when the echo of contemporary disparagement will have been hushed, and the eloquence of results will have silenced that of discussion.

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Colonel Younghusband's Mission is now geographically nearer to the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Amban than it was a month ago The opposition to its march by improvised soldiers, fighting with rusty swords and harmless matchlocks, and ignorant of the science of attack and defence, was easily overcome, and Gyantse has been reached and occupied. Five hundred Tibetans have fallen in action, besides the wounded. The lamas of Gyantse have been chastised by the levy of a fine. The Tashe Lama, an incarnation of Amitabha, and hence spiritually the most revered individual in the land of the lamas, but temporally inferior to the Grand Lama of Lhasa, has once more assured the British of his friendship, which has never wavered. Supplies are brought to the Mission, and people in search of employment are as willing to serve the Mission as any other masters for a consideration. General MacDonald has returned to Chumbi, and survey parties are busy trying to find out the most feasible route by which the Land of Snow may be approached at all seasons. The British Government is determined that there shall be unobstructed and continuous trade between India and the Himalayan tableland, that the tableland, that the tea-leaf of Assam shall compete with that of China, for the Tibet China, for the Tibetan swills the fragrant decoction as the fish swills water. Colonel Vernitaries water. Colonel Younghusband is waiting for the Tibetan dignitaries

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the Chinese representatives, who have often prepared to start, and announced the preparation, but never managed to start. The plai Lama evidently believes that Time solves all difficulties, that rational is the best weapon to fight an enemy, with and that if the plain small as it is, is constantly harassed, and its reconnoitring ratios fired on, a time must come for the Mission to retreat sadder and wiser. For an Eastern ruler he must be an intelligent man and his forecast unassailable: he opposes a Western Government.

The cost of the expedition has been thrust entirely on the Indian gvenues. It is not always an enviable distinction to be the pivot of an Empire. Every part of the machine throws its strain on the central support: what if the pivot gives way? The Russian Mission w Kabul, though subsequently withdrawn, precipitated our difficulis in Afghanistan and in the north-west frontier. The Burman Mission to France, though M. Haas's doings were repudiated by his Government, led to the annexation of Burma. The Tibetan Missions othe Tsar have thrown the Tibetan problem on our hands. meertainty of Russian designs, or rather their certainty showing itself nuncertain ways, is a perpetual source of disturbance to the peace of Asia. The Anglo-French agreement defining the mutual rights and obligations in Newfoundland and Sokoto, in Morocco and Egypt, Indo-China, but unfortunately not in the Persian Gulf, where more than two Powers are at cross purposes, has led to further expectations being entertained of the diplomatic element in Mr. Balfour's Ministry. Cannot Great Britain and Russia once for all come to an understanding regarding their "inevitable destinies" in Much depends upon the result of the Russo-Japanese war. Russia in Asia is like a rat in a hole with two openings, one in the tast and the other in the south. Japan is interested in closing the ormer. while Great Britain is interested in blocking up the latter. Both have combined for mutual assistance; but will the rodent tonsent to be suffocated by a united attempt to obstruct both the No solution of the international difficulty in Asia can be permanent or satisfactory, to which Great Britain, Russia and Japan, not also other Powers, are not parties.

Admiral Togo's present intermittent activity seems to be as surprising as his earlier successes. Port Arthur may have to be taken by a 534

combined movement on sea and on land. The Russians are retreating before the Japanese, acknowledging their superior artillery and their superior discipline generally. In the only great and prolonged encounter on the Yalu the losses have been heavy on both sides. Totally unprepared for war, but supremely disdainful of an Eastern enemy, the Tsar's Viceroy in the Far East has created a situation the lessons of which will be writ large on the pages of history.

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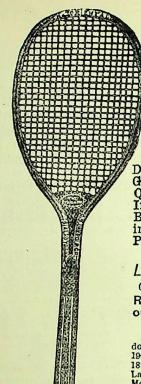
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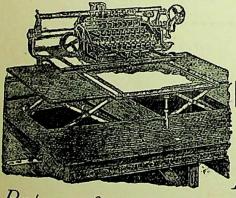
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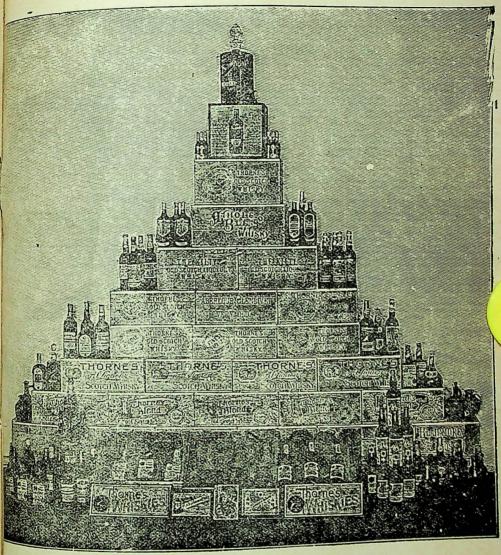
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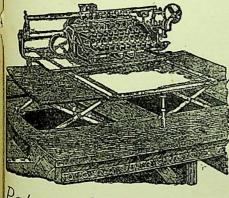
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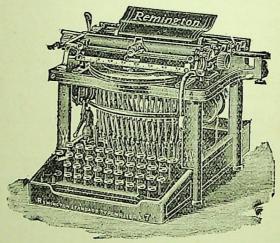
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EAST & WEST.

VOL. III.

JUNE, 1904.

No. 32.

THE TRADITIONAL MYTHIC HISTORIES OF THE EASTERN AND WESTERN WORLD.

PART I.

PRIMITIVE LIFE AND THE ORIGIN OF HISTORY.

A LMOST all national histories begin with a series of myths telling of the origin, childhood and early manhood of the various races who have framed stories of their birth and growth. But these stories are so impregnated with supernatural events and the actors in them are beings of such supernatural powers that it is impossible for us to believe them to be literally true narratives, as our fathers did when miracles were thought to have been ordinary occurrences in the prehistoric past and when these tales were thought to relate consecutive events in the history of the nations who preserved them as national records.

But though it is impossible to accept these stories as current history of actual facts, it is absolutely certain that they are not mere idle tales invented for social amusement, but solemn legacies handed down to their successors for information and guidance by the pioneers of civilisation in the various centres where the successive phases of communal life originated. This is proved by the wide extension over all the continents of the globe of the same myths told in various forms, the incorporation of the myths of different races in the history of the new communities formed by the fusion of previously alien tribes, and by their inextinguishable existence during countless ages in the folk tales of the widely scattered offshoots descended more or less remotely from the primitive races who founded mythic history. It is impossible that these historic myths could have been so Persistently preserved and so widely diffused if they had not been, during a very long period of their existence, thought to convey a really valuable knowledge of the past, nor would their first authors

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have added the work expended in concocting them to the labour entailed by their struggle with the untamed forces of nature and the solution of the tangled problems of social organisation, if they had not believed themselves to be painting trustworthy word-pictures of the epochs they described; nor would they, unless they had thought them to be scrupulously truthful, have claimed for their stories the sanctity of divine revelation, which was reverently given to them in the infancy of national religions.

It is impossible to believe that these inspired histories could have been universally believed and reverenced by countless generations, if they had been originally thought to be ordinary accounts of every-day events, nor could they have been thought by their authors to be manuals of national instruction, if their teachings conveyed no other meaning than to tell their hearers that the men of the past were superhuman beings who, aided by animal helpers, ruled heaven and earth by sorcery and witchcraft. Hence, the only possible explanation of the long-continued veneration paid to the primaval myths is, that they were in their original form told in a language of dramatic symbolism which enabled their authors to summarise, in a short, picturesque narrative, the history and outcome of events extending over thousands of years. These histories are all formed on the model of the original stories of the sequence of natural phenomena framed by the village elders for the instruction of the children of the first permanent villages. These told of the recurrence of the seasons, the annual phases of the growth of the crops, the ways of birds and beasts, and other similar local topics, and in them the winds, the rains, the stars, sun, and moon and all animate and inanimate objects were depicted as human beings, the meaning being interpreted to the children by the village teachers, who were their parental guardians. But in order to understand fully the organisation of the primitive communities, and to realise the indelibility of the characteristic marks they have impressed on all subsequent generations of civilised men, it is necessary to know their institutions thoroughly.

The first founders of the permanent villages and provinces in which national governments began belonged to the Dravido-Melanesian group of the Australioid family, dwelling in the forests of Southern India and the islands of the Indian Archipelago. They

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were first nomad agriculturists and hunters of the type still surviving in the Indian forest tracts. They made temporary settlements in forest clearings, in which the woman, instead of only gathering local plants, fruits and roots, cultivated, as they still do, food crops as addition to the animal food provided by the male hunters and their own forest gleanings. These clearings were abandoned at the end of two or three years when the soil became Their successors, who substituted permanent villages for temporary encampments, were the pioneers of a new system of cultivation, based on the irrigation of terraced fields formed on the slopes of the hills in which rice, grown in separate nurseries, was planted after the beginning of the rains. And this primitive rice, the parent of the two hundred or more varieties now grown, was produced by the careful cultivation of the wild rice-grass still hung up in August as a votive offering in the house of every ryot of Central India. These pioneers of skilled agriculture occupied, like their nomad predecessors, designated tribal territories limited by recognised boundaries, which became their provincial home, and they covered it gradually with new settlements in which a definite area was assigned to each village.

The village site was placed in the centre of these areas, and its central point was the village grove formed of the forest trees left standing as the home of the gods of life. Under the shade of this grove was the village Akhra or dancing ground, where ceremonial dances were held at the beginning of each season into which the agricultural year was divided, a special step and figure being used for each season's dance according to the custom still preserved by the Mandas and Ooraons of Chutia Nagpur. At these dances the women of each village invited and danced with the men of a neighbouring village of their own province, as the Juangs and Bhuyas still do, and it was at these dances that the village children were begotten as the offspring of the mother-trees of the parent grove, and the union of the women of one village with the men of another arose from the conception of the village as a family in which the men were brothers of its women, who were consequently forbidden to be the fathers of their children. They, as maternal uncles, educated all the boys born to the village as soon as they Were able to leave their mothers, and the matrons educated the girls. 538

The children of both sexes were kept in separate quarters, one for the boys and the other for girls, and they were brought up together, each being taught the several duties assigned to them by tribal law, and this custom, together with the ancestral rules as to the communal ownership of the land, still survives among the Ooraons of Chutia Nagpur, the Nagas of Assam, the inhabitants of the Melanesian group of islands in the Indian Archipelago, and other tribes in various quarters of the world. The children were trained under a system of Spartan discipline, transmitted to Greece by the Dorian immigrants from the east, who took thither their village customs of common meals and the Spartan code of the national education of the children of both sexes; and besides the practical schooling in their agricultural duties given to them in their daily allotted tasks, they were taught all the knowledge stored up by the tribe and preserved in tales of the kind I have already described. These they were obliged to commit carefully to memory so as to be able to repeat them exactly when called upon to do so. This system is still preserved in the teachings of the Patshalas or indigenous village schools of India and in the rules of religious orders whose members, like the Indian Brahmans and Buddhist monks, must know by heart all the ancestral records committed to their charge. The stringency of these rules and their result on the preservation of primitive literature are shown in the regulations for the admission of monks into the Thibetan orders of Llamas, which, according to Mr. Sarat Chundra Das,* oblige all monks of each order to be able, before admission, to repeat without a mistake one hundred and twenty-five leaves of the sacred books which those chosen as recorders had to learn completely during the years of their membership. It was under a system of no less rigid rule that the Brahmans became able to train their memories so as to be able to hand down to posterity the one thousand and twenty-eight hymns of the Rigveda and the whole mass of prose and poetic Sanskrit literature composed before the days of manuscript writing. The training of the national memories which preserved their later works was begun by the primitive village elders and matrons who composed and handed down to future generations the first folk-tales, which were followed by the national histories framed on similar models and which still exist in India

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side by side with the later literature engrafted by the Northern Sanskrit-speaking conquerors on the vernacular relics of their Dravidian predecessors, who are called in Southern Indian tradition the sons of Agastya, the Star Canopus, the Cholas or Kolas, Cheras and Pandyas—the last being the fair (pandu) race.

When the original nature-stories grew into histories it became the custom to preserve them in popular memory by reciting them at the new year's festival of each year, and this custom became in the last stage of Vedic ritual that recorded in the Satapatha Brahmana, which made the recital of the histories handed down by the Angiras, priests of the ritual of burnt sacrifices of animal victims, and by the Atharvan sun-priests to last for ten days, the week of the latest Each day was devoted to the history of one period of the national growth, and this repetition was continued during every ten days of the thirty-six weeks of the year. Similar recitations formed part of the ancestral Semite ritual, a custom surviving in the annual reading of the Jewish Thora, and they also survived in the national histories recited by the Celtic Druids and preserved by the Welsh Eisteddvods, of which the series of national poems called the Mabinogion or story of the sons of the year-babe (Mabyn), the Conchobar, Cuchulainn and Bran Sagas of Ireland and the stories of the Arthurian legend, are specimens reproducing the first primitive stories mixed with later elements. were in Ireland recited on the great national year days of Samhain, the 1st of November, the feast of Beltine on the 1st of May, and the Lugnassad, the marriage day of Lug on the 1st of August.†

The villages of these associated agriculturists were each ruled by a head man, the Indian Patel or Munda, with his assistant councillors, each ruling one of the sections into which the village lands were divided, and the whole organised confederacy was controlled by the provincial chief, the Manki or Talukdar. This system in its entirety, with its ritual and social customs, was taken by all the offshoots of the village communities to the new settlements they formed, first near their homes and afterwards in foreign lands on the coasts of the Indian Ocean, whither they travelled, as I have described in Chapter I. of the "History and Chronology of the Myth-making Age," in canoes hollowed out of the trunks of forest

[†] De Jubainville, "Le Cycle Mythologique et la Mythologie Celtique."

trees growing on the coasts of Southern India and the Indian Archipelago, and on no other seashores in the whole circuit of their

parent ocean.

One of the most widely diffused symbolic picture-stories taken with them in their migrations, was that recording their system of year measurement, regulated by the movements of the Pleiades and the setting sun. Their year and day began in the evening when the Pleiades first set after the sun, about the 1st of November, when the north-east monsoon winds introducing the equatorial spring in southern India begin to blow, and it was measured by five-day or rather five-night weeks, thirty-six of which completed the first half of the year up to the 1st of May, when the Pleiades begin to set before the sun and continue to do so for the next thirty-six weeks, which completed the three hundred and sixty days of the year of seventy-two weeks. This year was thus based on the sun circle, the Welsh Gorsedd, commemorated in the stone circles of the Neolithic Age still existing in all European countries, in south-western Asia and India. These in their original form were apparently like the Great Rollright circle in Oxfordshire, made of a considerable number of stones, which perhaps typified the stars, and were followed by others like the two double circles at Avebury in Wiltshire, of thirty and twelve stones depicting the twelve thirty-day months of the national year. But the form which reproduced in the measurements of the circle the number of thirty-six consecrated in the thirty-six weeks of the half year was that set up at Solwaster, in Belgium, and probably on other sacred sites. In this sun circle thirty-six stones surround the Hir-men-sol or Great Stone of the Sun, and the interval between each stone is ten degrees, as M. Harroy has proved by measurements. This circle of three hundred and sixty degrees or days was, in the symbolic astronomy of the builders, a reproduction of the circle of which the centre was the village grove and its central mother tree reaching to the Pole Star. It was round this centre that the sun, the Pleiades and their attendant stars made their yearly circuit, and their leader was the star nearest to the southern Pole, the star Canopus, the Indian Agastya, or the Singer in the Constellation Argo, called by the Akkadians Ma, the mother ship. This star was in Egyptian astronomical mythology the star of the god Khnem, the architect, whose name became in

Coptic symbol cross in its year solstice. Dead "dead so village hand a being sthe Egy praises

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Coptic Knepth, whence the Greek name Canopus was derived. His symbol is the circle of the Agathodæmon with the St. Andrew's cross in the centre, indicating the annual path of the sun beginning its yearly circuit of the heavens in the south-west at the winter solstice.* In the Vignette to chapter xxx B of the "Book of the Dead" he is said to be the ape holding the balance for weighing the dead soul.† It was this ape star-god, father of the races born from the village tree, who turned the star round the pole with his mighty hand and its five fingers, the five days of his year's week, he himself being seated on the mother tree, the mast of the mother ship. In the Egyptian astronomy, based on the worship of apes who sang the praises of Ra, it was his Thigh, the Constellation of the Great Bear, which succeeded Argo as the leader of the stars round the Pole.

But the picture of the circling stars led by the heavenly ship steered by the ape-star seated on its mast was a subsequent form of the original historical conception in which the setting Pleiades and sun marked the beginning of the year. In the earliest phase of this year, as reckoned by the Indian farmers of South India, the initial stage was marked not by astronomical phenomena, but by the beginning of the spring monsoon accompanied by the north-east winds which began to blow in October-November. announced by the coming of the cloud bird, the black rain clouds, called by the Egyptians and Akkadians the mother rain bird Khu, the Hu-Kairya of the Zendavesta, father of the water goddess Ardvi Sura Anahita, the river Euphrates. This rain bird was in India the bird Shu or Su, mother of the Su-varna, the race (varna) of the Susdwellers in the Delta of the Indus, the Saus of Sau-rashtra, the king, dom (rashtra) of the Saus, the modern Guzerat. These became in later historical evolution the Chiroos, sons of the bird (Chir) and children of Agastya (Canopus), who from the central kingdom of Magadha (Behar) ruled the whole of India. The first section of the year thus began in October-November with the rains of the northeast monsoon brought by the cloud bird ushering in the equatorial spring, and this ended with the intense heat of April-May, during which the opening of the second period of thirty-six five-night weeks

^{*} King, "The Gnostics and their Remains; Egyptian Deities," p. 41. Movers. "Die Phonizier," chap, iii. p. 504.

[†] Budge, "Book of the Dead." Translation, p. 79.

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was announced by the first signs of the south-west monsoon, which began to appear in May and brought in the rainy season, beginning in North India at the summer solstice.

In the primitive historical mythology of this age the national birthplace was the central area overarched by the starry vault of heaven, in which the mother tree grew from its midmost point. The germ of life from which it was born was brought from heaven to earth in the rain borne by the parent cloud bird. This passed from the earth into the growing seed and grew up with the tree as the creating sap which enabled it to send forth first leaves, then flowers, and lastly seeds which were to be the parents of future offspring. It, with its contained germ of life distributed by the creating God to his earthly children, generated the seed consumed by all living beings in the grasses, herbs and leaves eaten by animals and in the fruits of the trees and the rice plants eaten by the village sons of the tree. Their initial life was implanted by this heavenly seed and it was that which nourished and preserved in health the human children during their life on earth. This only lasted as long as they were sustained by the divine essence incorporated into their persons by their daily food on the germs of the immortal divine Will, who made the living offspring he created partakers in his own undying vital force, which in its expansion brought forth not only animal life but also thought and its accumulating products, reaching to an eternity of time and space to which we can see no end. In the creed based on this conception, all life was equal in potential value, and the form in which it appeared was that assigned to it by God, and hence arose the belief that all germs made manifest in a created form were interchangeable, and that each, after the end of its allotted period in one phase, might pass to another in which its capacities still survived for future use, though its active functions might be suspended in some directions. Thus the soul which had once dwelt in a human body might become in its next change a stone, a tree, a plant, or animal. To those trained in the realisation of a cosmogony based on these conceptions, the making of dramatic stories, in which all dumb forms of life assumed the suppressed gifts given to them as talking and acting human beings, was merely an awakening of sleepers, who on the stage prepared for them by the story-teller spoke and acted as living men and women.

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As a corollary from this belief in the creating power in the life germs brought to earth in the rain and infused into the seeds of the mother tree and plant, arose the conception that fresh vital power was acquired by eating the first seeds of the national food plants which ripened each year. Hence the new year of the Pleiades and cloud bird was begun by the consumption as a divine meal of the first fruits of the mother plants, eaten on the floor of the first Indian temple, the ground shadowed by the mother tree. These first-fruits, eaten by those alive, were offered to their dead parents during a three days' feast to the dead, a custom still surviving in the southern hemisphere and all over Europe, where the festivals of All Hallow Eve, All Saints' and All Souls' Day are still held as they were by the Celtic Druids on the 31st October and the 1st and 2nd of November, and where the mid-year dance of May Day is still danced round the May Pole which was once the mother tree.

This festival also subsists, as I have shown in the "History and Chronology of the Myth-making Age," among the Himyarites of Southern Arabia. In Greece and Asia Minor it became the three days' festival of Thesmophoria, held on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of Puanepsion (October-November), the Ionic Apatourion, answering to the 24th, 25th, and 26th October. It was followed in all the Ionic village communities which preserved the village customs of their Indian forefathers by the Apaturia, the name given to the yearly neeting of the Phratria of Village Brotherhoods, at which the list of the members of the community was revised and new members elected. After this the village fires were put out and relighted for he coming year from the solemnly rekindled fire of the consecrated illage hearth. The mother goddess of these festivals was Demeter, he black goddess of life, also called Deo, and at these feasts no living victims were offered to her but only the first-fruits of the Indian acrifices. It was at this new year that she mourned the disappearance of her daughter Persephone, taken down to the lower world, he home of the God Hades and dwelling-place of the winter sun of he south, whence she was to emerge from her winter seclusion as the May Queen of summer, re-risen on May Day.

J. F. HEWITT.

HOW DID ART ORIGINATE IN THE EAST?

IN a preface to Ram Chandra's Treatise on Maxima and Minima, the late Professor A. de Morgan called attention to the importance and value of certain kinds of mental quality possessed by some natives of India, which gives them direct access to some scientific secrets which Europeans can learn only by laborious and roundabout methods of investigation. Before the publication of this preface, a considerable stir had already been made in Europe by the fact that De Morgan and others had found out how to express logical formulæ in algebraic notations. Of several works on that subject, which appeared in the middle of the nineteenth century, one, written by my husband, was spoken of by Herbert Spencer as being the greatest advance in Logic since Aristotle. George Boole himself told me that his supposed "discovery" was much older than the time of Aristotle; that the formula called, in modern Europe, "Boole's Equation," must have been perfectly well understood, insome shape or other, before the five sacred books of the Hebrews, ascribed to Moses Ben Amram, could have been written. Equation," is, in fact, only the Hebrew Formula, known as the "Shemang Israël," expressed in an accurate, depolarised notation, and thus freed from the sectarian associations grown round it in the course of ages. Since my husband's death, in 1864, I have come across indications of the truth both of his assertion and of Professor de Morgan's. It has fallen to my lot (so experts tell me) to throw light on a point connected with ancient Indian Art. The fact seems to me all the more significant, because I have not been to India, and know very little about Art of any kind; and at the time when I made the discovery, I was thinking of matters much nearer home than India. My discovery, such as it is, appeals to unscientific persons, especially to women, and may,

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HOW DID ART ORIGINATE IN THE EAST!

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perhaps, interest such readers of East & West as find articles on cience, and on political economy, beyond their grasp.

My attention had been attracted to the fact that many women when broken down in nerve-health, are haunted with a longing to do some kind of "fancy-work" (i.e. decorative needlework), but dislike each kind which they take up. In many of these cases the medical adviser has prescribed needlework, but the nurse has failed to find any kind of work which she can persuade the patient to persevere in. Presently my own health gave way, owing to over-strain in connection with writing. I needed some quiet recreation; I could not divert my mind by reading; the very sight of black letters on a white page turned me sick; I longed for a revel of mere colour, and especially for constantly changing colour Coloured embroidery was the very thing for which my soul craved. I had had, it is true, little practice in the art; but that did not matter, the object being to amuse myself and recover health; the very novelty of the occupation would divert me; and I could learn, I thought, as I went along.

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I procured from Liberty's an Indian table-cover, sharply printed with a repeating flower-pattern in blue on a white ground, and a mass of embroidery silks of a great variety of shades, and set to work to embroider the flowers each in a different colour. But alas! my hope of a useful occupation seemed illusory; the brain-sickness, the sense of nervous worry, the dazzled condition of the eyes, were brought on almost as quickly by the attempt to embroider over blue lines on a white ground as by the attempt to tead black words on a white page.

At first I was painfully disappointed. But two facts conspired to give me courage. One of the patients in the Sanatorium where I was lodging was a lady of Spanish origin, who, when fairly well, would sit with other members of the household, and occupy herself with plain-sewing; but who, when more ill than usual, found relief in some strange kind of Art Needlework of her own devising. Everyone in the establishment was aware that Miss C. when at her worst, amused herself with some queer kind of work; but it did not seem to occur to anyone that the fact might be made of use to other sufferers. Surely, thought I, George Boole's pupil and executor ought to be able, in case of need, to correlate facts into a working whole,

so far, at least, as to evolve a hygienic recreation for herself and other invalids! I watched Miss C.'s work, and observed that it involved a great deal of feather-stitching done free-hand and without pattern. I procured a piece of very soft material. The Liberty table-cloth had worried my hand by the resistance of the fabric to the needle; it was very slight and would have been unnoticed had I been in my usual health; but in my then weak condition it was perceptible at each stitch. The piece which I now selected was free from this objection. It was printed all over in shades of a pleasant cloudy neutral tint which passed into each other without any very defined pattern. I set to work to feather-stitch about at random on it, in a lazy, luxurious manner, choosing each needleful of silk to suit the caprice of the eye at the moment; and setting each stitch in the "direction of the least resistance", i.e., at the angle which was most restful to the hand at the moment, without regard either to neatness or artistic effect. I had been struck by the peculiar lifelikeness of Miss C.'s impromptu sprays; they were not like any particular sort of moss or seaweed; one could not say that any of them was meant to represent any particular species of known plant; but one felt that each was living and growing. The work was more like little bits of Japanese embroidery, or the touches done by a painter, than like anything ordinarily done with a needle in Europe. I had attributed this quality of Miss C,'s work to her being, as I supposed, a trained embroideress. To my astonishment, I found the same characteristic of lifelikeness appearing under my own unskilled fingers!

Another discovery was growing up under my eyes. I chose each needleful of silk to suit the colour-impulse of the moment. Each day when I left off working, the colour of the whole seemed satisfying and delightful; but sometimes, on taking it out next day, it, so to speak, hit me in the face with a sense of something crude, glaring, utterly wrong. I had read in a book on nursing, that the colourneeds of a patient vary with his state of health; scarlet hangings are good for the nerves in one kind of illness, dull purple in another. If so, there would probably be finer gradations of colour-need than those observed by the writer of the nursing book. I resolved to push the matter through and find out all I could about the relation of colour to health. I resolved never to undo my work, however

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bad in colour or form; but always to add a corrective and see whether that plan would heal me. Each day, when I got out my work, I looked over it to see which bit struck me most forcibly as crude or unpleasing, gazed at that portion till my eyes were slightly dazzled, then looked into the heap of silks, pulled out the one which seemed most restful to my eyes, threaded my needle with it, and stitched in among the selected crude spot, fastening down long stitches with shorter ones,

Another point had to be settled—that of form. If I was not to work on a pattern previously drawn, I must somehow get a design of some sort. I procured a skein of the so-called "Japanese gold" (the gilt paper thread of which we see so much on Japanese screens, and which is used in England for outlining), wound it on a reel, and left it for a day or two. It thus lost its skein-kinkles and acquired a general springy curliness. I then shook it off the reel and used it to make trails all over a piece of plain gown-silk (as one decorates a wall or table with long clinging trails of briony or hops). Having adjusted them with pins according to my fancy, I sewed them down, worked free-hand feather-stitch along and near each of them, and coloured flowers in the axils where they crossed each other, still choosing each needleful of silk to suit the momentary "passion of the eye," setting each stitch at the angle most pleasant to the "passion of the hand," and correcting crude spots by subsequent additions.

Up to this time I had worked alone, simply following out my successive impulses during my illness and the beginning of my recovery. But at this stage of the proceedings, a new element came into the investigation. Experts saw the work I had produced; and, without professing to think it well worked, pronounced that it had the peculiar colour-glow which distinguishes real old-fashioned Indian work from modernised (and especially European) imitations.

Here indeed was a revelation! I had applied what was (so my husband had assured me) an old Asiatic formula of psychologic correlation to the purpose of combining in logical synthesis a mass of hitherto unco-ordinated fact concerning nervous impulse and the sequence of colour-vagaries, and behold! I had, unwittingly, reproduced the inimitable old Indian colour-glow.

The investigation had grown beyond my power to prosecute alone; I sought the help of friends. One or two lady doctors, a

nurse whose speciality was the charge of nervous patients, two highly skilled embroideresses (one of them a very artistic designer) and others volunteered to join me in a thorough investigation; and we set to work to experiment. In a future number of East & West, I hope to give an account of what we discovered, in so far as it throws light on ancient Eastern Art. The main and most important conclusion to which we have been led, I can, however, state here. The quality spoken of by De Morgan is a peculiar sensitiveness to impressions, which exists everywhere, in germ, in children. European culture and life tend to deaden it; but it often reappears among us, in certain forms of nervous disease. It is then called Hyperæsthesia, and is usually accompanied by morbid symptoms which make the patient incapable of study and of useful work, till the disease passes away, carrying the extra-sensitiveness away with it. One main object of the great Eastern Religions (such as Judaism was in its origin) was to take up and cultivate the Sensitiveness and educate it into a means of perpetual scientific and Those, therefore, are doing grievous harm to moral revelation. both East and West who try to make the religious and domestic culture of Asiatics conform to our own coarser standards. If we do this, we shall root out from the world scientific and artistic potentialities of untold value, besides much increasing the spread of actual nerve-diseases. We ought rather, while opening up to our oriental fellow-subjects access to our Western appliances and methods, to give them every encouragement in conducting the development of children in conformity with the best forms of their own hereditary ideals.

(To be continued.)

MARY EVEREST BOOLE.



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